

SIAM - MYANMAR RELATIONS FROM THE 16TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY
THROUGH THE PERSPECTIVE OF *AYEDAWBON* TREATISES

Miss Soe Thuzar Myint



บทคัดย่อและแฟ้มข้อมูลฉบับเต็มของวิทยานิพนธ์ตั้งแต่ปีการศึกษา 2554 ที่ให้บริการในคลังปัญญาจุฬาฯ (CUIR)
เป็นแฟ้มข้อมูลของนิสิตเจ้าของวิทยานิพนธ์ ที่ส่งผ่านทางบัณฑิตวิทยาลัย

The abstract and full text of theses from the academic year 2011 in Chulalongkorn University Intellectual Repository (CUIR)
are the thesis authors' files submitted through the University Graduate School.

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Program in Thai Studies

Faculty of Arts

Chulalongkorn University

Academic Year 2014

Copyright of Chulalongkorn University

ความสัมพันธ์สยาม-เมียนมาร์จากคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 16 ถึง 19

ผ่านมุมมองของวรรณกรรมเอเชียโป่ง

นางสาวโซ ทูซาร์ มินท์

จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาอักษรศาสตรดุษฎีบัณฑิต

สาขาวิชาไทยศึกษา

คณะอักษรศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

ปีการศึกษา 2557

ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

โซ ทูซาร์ มินท์ : ความสัมพันธ์สยาม-เมียนมาร์จากคริสต์ศตวรรษที่ 16 ถึง 19 ผ่านมุมมองของ
วรรณกรรมอะเยดอโปง (SIAM - MYANMAR RELATIONS FROM THE 16TH TO THE 19TH
CENTURY THROUGH THE PERSPECTIVE OF AYEDAWBON TREATISES) อ.ที่ปรึกษา
วิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: รศ. ดร. สุเนตร ชุตินทรานนท์, 198 หน้า.

แต่ก่อน งานวรรณกรรมประเภทอะเยดอโปง (Ayedawbon) แทบจะไม่ใช่ที่รู้จักสำหรับนักวิชาการ
ภายนอก ในการศึกษาความสัมพันธ์ไทย-พม่า นักวิชาการส่วนใหญ่ให้ความสำคัญกับหลักฐานประเภท
พงศาวดารหรือยาสะวิน แต่มักจะหลงลืมอะเยดอโปง (Ayedawbon) ไปอย่างง่าย ๆ ในความเป็นจริงนั้น ตำราอะ
เยดอโปง (Ayedawbon) เป็นชุมทรัพย์ของข้อมูลสำหรับนักวิชาการด้านพม่าและไทยศึกษา วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้
จึงเป็นการนำเสนองานวรรณกรรมประเภทอะเยดอโปง (Ayedawbon) ให้ นักวิชาการทั้งไทยและวงวิชาการใน
ระดับนานาชาติได้รู้จักเป็นครั้งแรก

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้สำรวจอะเยดอโปง (Ayedawbon) จำนวน 7 เล่ม และได้แปลเฉพาะบทที่เกี่ยวข้อง
กับสงครามไทย-พม่า ตำราทั้ง 7 เล่มครอบคลุมช่วงเวลา 5 สมัยซึ่งปกครองโดยราชวงศ์แห่งกษัตริย์พม่าที่
ต่อเนื่องกัน ได้แก่ สมัยราชวงศ์พินยา (Pinya) และราชวงศ์อินวา (Innwa) ตรงกับสมัยอยุธยาตอนต้นและ
อาณาจักรล้านนา สมัยราชวงศ์ตองอู (Taungoo) ตรงกับรัชสมัยสมเด็จพระมหาจักรพรรดิ มาจนถึงรัชสมัยสมเด็จพระ
พระนเรศวรมหาราชสมัย ราชวงศ์ญองยาน (Nyaung Yan) และสมัยราชวงศ์คองบอง (Konbong) ซึ่งตรงกับรัช
สมัยของพระเจ้าเอกทัศน์ เมื่อรวมสาระอะเยดอโปง (Ayedawbon) ที่แปลทั้งหมดนี้เข้าด้วยกันก็จะได้ภาพบันทึก
เหตุการณ์ประวัติศาสตร์ที่ต่อเนื่องตั้งแต่ ค.ศ. 1284 ถึง ค.ศ. 1760 สำหรับให้นักวิชาการของทั้งสองประเทศได้ใช้
ศึกษา

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เผยให้เห็นข้อเท็จจริงทางประวัติศาสตร์ที่ยังไม่มีใครทราบซึ่งไม่อาจพบได้ใน
หลักฐานประเภทพงศาวดารพม่าและแหล่งอ้างอิงอื่นๆ ข้อมูลที่ได้จะทำให้เกิดความเข้าใจต่อประวัติศาสตร์
ความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างสยามและพม่ามากขึ้น การศึกษาวิจัยนี้ยังได้พบเหตุการณ์ทางประวัติศาสตร์ที่สำคัญเป็น
จำนวนมาก ตลอดจนทัศนคติและวิถีคิดของบรรดาผู้เขียนอะเยดอโปง (Ayedawbon) ซึ่งมีส่วนสัมพันธ์กับ
แนวคิดที่เป็นที่รู้จัก คือ “แนวคิดจักรวาทิน (ราชาเหนือราชา)” และ “มณฑล (mandala) – เขตวงอำนาจแห่ง
ราชันย์”

การศึกษาวิจัยครั้งนี้ยังจะเป็นตัวอย่างที่ดีในการใช้รูปแบบงานวรรณคดีในการศึกษาวิจัยด้านไทยศึกษา
ทั้งยังเปิดให้เห็นมุมมองใหม่สำหรับนักวิชาการไทยและนักวิชาการภายนอก นอกจากอะเยดอโปง (Ayedawbon)
แล้วยังมีวรรณคดีพม่ารูปแบบอื่นๆ อันหลากหลาย เช่น เอเจง (Eigyin), โมโกง (Mawgun) และ เพี้ยว (Pyo)
เป็นต้น วรรณคดีเหล่านี้ยังไม่มีผู้ศึกษาอย่างกว้างขวาง และยังไม่มีความพยายามที่จะใช้วรรณคดีเหล่านี้เพื่อวิจัย
ในวงที่กว้างขึ้นด้านความสัมพันธ์สยาม-พม่า งานวิจัยบนพื้นฐานวัตถุดิบที่ปรากฏอยู่ในวิทยานิพนธ์นี้จึงเป็น
แบบอย่างที่จะก่อให้เกิดประโยชน์อันทรงคุณค่าเป็นอย่างยิ่งต่องานวิจัยในอนาคต

สาขาวิชา ไทยศึกษา

ปีการศึกษา 2557

ลายมือชื่อนิติต

ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาหลัก

5580519422 : MAJOR THAI STUDIES

KEYWORDS: AYEDAWBON TREATISES

SOE THUZAR MYINT: SIAM - MYANMAR RELATIONS FROM THE 16TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY THROUGH THE PERSPECTIVE OF *AYEDAWBON* TREATISES.
ADVISOR: ASSOC. PROF. SUNAIT CHUTINTARANOND, Ph.D., 198 pp.

Previously, Ayedawbon is little known to outside scholars. In the field of Myanmar-Thai relations, most scholars pay much attention to Chronicles but they conveniently forget Ayedawbons. In fact, Ayedawbon treatises are a mine of information for scholars of Myanmar and Thai studies. This thesis first introduces Ayedawbon treatises to Thai scholars as well as international academic circle.

This thesis surveys seven Ayedawbon treatises and provides a translation of excerpts involving Myanmar–Siam warfare. It covers 5 periods ruled by successive dynasties of Myanmar kings: Pinya and Innwa period, corresponding to the period of the reigns of the early kings of Ayutthaya and Lanna, Taungoo period, corresponding to the period of the reign of King Maha Chakkraphat until King Naresuan, Nyaung Yan period, and Konboun period which corresponds to that of King Ekathat. If all these Ayedawbons combined, they registered the continuous events from 1284-1760, thus providing uninterrupted history for the scholars of both countries.

This thesis exposed many unknown historical facts which we have never found in Myanmar chronicles and other sources. It contributed to the better understanding of histories between Siam and Myanmar. The study also found out many significant historical events, attitudes and ways of thinking of the authors of Ayedawbons which is somewhat related to the celebrated concepts of Cakravartin (king of kings) and mandala (sphere of royal influence).

This study will be a good example of using one of Myanmar literary forms in the field of Thai Studies. It opens a new perspective for both Thai and outside scholars. Besides Ayedawbon treatises, there are a variety of genres in Myanmar literature such as Eigyin, Mawgun, Pyo, etc. They are little studied and there was no one who tried to use these materials for wide-ranging research on Siam-Myanmar relations. Research work on these existing materials would yield to valuable results.

Field of Study: Thai Studies

Academic Year: 2014

Student's Signature

Advisor's Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Chulalongkorn University for granting me “Chulalongkorn University Scholarship for Neighboring Countries” which is the big support for my doctoral study in Thai Studies at the Thai Studies Center, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University.

Secondly my grateful thanks go to my advisor, Associate Sunait Chutintaranond, Ph.D. for his valuable guidance, brilliant ideas and the earnest help he has given me in doing this research work. My sincere thanks to Associate Suchitra Chongstitvatana, Ph.D., Chair of the Ph.D. Program in Thai Studies, for her constructive criticism and wise guidance. My deep gratitude to Professor Siraporn Nathalang, Ph.D., Chair of the thesis committee who gave me the chance to apply for the Scholarship, to Assistant Professor Wasana Wongsurawat, Ph.D., Director of the Thai Studies Program who renders me a great help throughout my research, to Associate Professor Sauvanit Vingvorn, Ph.D., external thesis examiner for her valuable contributions to the thesis and my big thanks to the staff of the Thai Studies Center who have been offering me great assistance.

I am especially indebted to U Thaw Kaung, Shay-haung Sarpay Thu-tay-thi Ta-oo (pen-name of U Htun Yee), Nan Nyunt Swe, Maung Kyauk Taing and U Hla Tun Phyu for their articles and books on Ayedawbon kyans which are of much help to the writing of this thesis. I would also like to express my sincere thanks to Ko Than Htaik (Research) for his valuable advise and untiring support.

Last but not least, my special thanks go to my husband U Thet Win Tu and our two kids, Mandy and Patton who read portions of my script from time to time and give advice in the preparation of my thesis. I dedicate this work to my parents, U Hla Myint (deceased) and Daw Myint Myint Aye, and to my late father in law U Hla Tu. Love, forever.

CONTENTS

	Page
THAI ABSTRACT	iv
ENGLISH ABSTRACT.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
CONTENTS.....	vii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Yazawin and Ayedawbon.....	1
1.2 Ayedawbon.....	2
1.3 The importance of comparative study in literature and history of Myanmar and Thailand	5
1.4 Study on Myanmar-Thai relations.....	9
1.5 Objectives	12
1.6 Hypothesis	12
1.7 Research Methodology	12
1.8 Outlines of the thesis	13
1.9 Scope of study	13
1.10. Definition.....	14
CHAPTER II: MYANMAR CLASSICAL LITERATURE.....	16
2.1 Bagan Period (1044-1297).....	17
2.2 Pinya Period (1298-1364).....	21
2.3 Innwa Period (1364-1555).....	24
2.5 Nyaung Yan period (1599-1752).....	31
2.6 Konboun period (1752-1885)	34
2.6.1 The First Konboun period	34
2.6.2 The second Konboun period.....	37
2.6.2.1 Drama	38
2.6.2.2 Maniket.....	39
2.6.2.3 Enaung.....	39
2.6.2.4. Ramayana	40

	Page
2.6.2.5. Other Yodaya plays	42
2.7 Conclusion	46
CHAPTER III: AYEDAWBON TREATISES	53
3.1 Introduction.....	53
3.2. Ayedawbon Treatises.....	56
3.3. Meaning of the word “Ayedawbon”	57
3.4. Characteristics of Ayedawbon Treatises	58
3.5. The Problems of Ayedawbons.....	59
3.5.1. Authorship problem.....	59
3.5.1.1.Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon	59
3.5.1.2. Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbon	60
3.5.1.3. Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon (three different texts)	60
3.5.2. Problematic categorization of Ayedawbon	62
3.5.2.1. Majjhimadesa Ayedawbon	62
3.5.2.2. Hsin Phyu Shin Ayedawbon.....	62
3.6. Significance of Ayedawbon Treatises	62
3.7.1. Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon	64
3.7.2. Rajadirit Ayedawbon.....	66
3.7.3. Hanthawadi Sinphyumyashin Ayedawbon	69
3.7.4. Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbon	70
3.7.6. Majjhimadesa Ayedawbon	72
3.7.6.1. Part.1 covers the period of rebellion against Myanmar rule by Nga Pawlon, Nga Khywe Pauk and Khywe Ta Koung Naing (crusher of one buffalo) from about CE 1794 to 1795.	72
3.7.6.2. Part. 2 is on Nga Chin Byan's rebellion from about 1798 to 1814 CE.	73
3.7.6.3. Part. 3 is on Myanmar missions sent by King Bodawpaya to India to collect manuscripts, and also to carry out intelligence work on the British expansion into India.....	75
3.7.7. Hsin Phyu Shin Ayedawbon.....	77

	Page
3.7.7.1. Crushing of rebellions at the beginning of the king's reign.....	78
3.7.7.2. Detailed account of the first founding of the new capital, Amarapura, the 'Immortal City'.	79
3.7.7.3. Accounts of the two beiktheik coronation ceremonies of 1783 and 1784, which Letwe Nawrahta had to plan and organize according to traditional practice.	80
3.7.7.4. Despatching of scholars (including Hindu Brahmin Ponna, court astrologers) to India and other countries to search for secular texts on medicine, law, astrology, and so on. (Many were later translated into Myanmar.).....	82
3.7.7.5. Collecting data and compiling a list of various officials, artisans, merchants, etc., and their descendants	83
3.7.7.6. The campaign to successfully conquer Rakhine, giving the military routes, battles and so on	83
3.7.7.7. Records of the conveying of the much venerated Maha Muni Buddha Image from the Rakhine capital to Amarapura, giving in detail the dates, the different stages and the veneration ceremonies at the capital and many other informative details.....	84
3.7.7.8. Crushing of rebellion by Nga Sat and Nga Kwe in Yangon	85
3.8. Conclusion	86
CHAPTER IV: TRANSLATION OF SELECTED AYEDAWBON TREATISES ...	90
4.1. Introduction.....	90
4.2 Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon.....	91
4.3 Rajadirit Ayedawbon	95
4.4. Hanthawadi Hsin-Phyu-Mya-Shin Ayedawbon	111
4.4.1. Conquest of Chiang Mai also known as Suwannabumi	111
4.4.2. Conquest of Ayutthaya (War of the White Elephants).....	115
4.4.3. Conquests of Chiang Mai, Country of the Black-faced people and Zin Yon	121
4.4.4. Conquest of Ayuttaha (The First fall of Ayutthaya)	127
4.5. Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon	136
CHAPTER V: Analysis and Discussion	144

	Page
5.1. Introduction.....	144
5.2. Important historical facts	146
5.3. Attitudes and temperament of Myanmar kings	149
5.4. Siamese sources	150
5.5. Myanmar source	152
5.6. War of the White Elephants.....	153
5.7. The first fall of Ayutthaya (War of 1569)	156
5.8. Battle of Nong Sarai	159
5.9. The Fall of Hanthawadi	160
5.10. Alaungpaya Campaign in Siam (1759-1760)	166
5.11. Guerrilla resistance by the villagers of Bang Racha	173
5.12. The death of General Maha Nawrahta	174
CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION	179
6.1 Recommendations for further study	189
REFERENCES	190
VITA.....	198

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This is a study of one of the prominent genres of Myanmar literature: Ayedawbon kyans or treatises on trials and tribulations of kings.¹ There are about seven Ayedawbon treatises which have been handed down from the ancient time to the present. They are like a special chronicle because they throw considerable light on the struggle of one king. This thesis questions whether the accounts mentioned in the Ayedawbon treatises, reflecting Myanmar-Siam relations and warfare from 16th to 19th century, are worth-studying and how they contribute to the histories of both countries.

1.1 Yazawin and Ayedawbon

The study of the chronicles was an occupation of high esteem for kings and Myanmar people² in the late Nyaung Yan period. U Kala wrote the first full-scale chronicle in Myanmar 'Maha Yazawingyi'³ during the reign of King Tanninganwe (1714-1733). And, as Victor Lieberman writes, 'After U Kala, came a rain of Chronicles'.

About that time, there was a prince named Maung Uka, son of Sane min (1698-1714) who distinguished himself as a general in the Myanmar army and earned for himself the sobriquet Mintha Yazawin⁴ because of his study of the chronicles.

Another source for this kind of historical writing is Pazat Yazawin.⁵ It was written by U Thein (Hmawbi Saya Thein) in 1926. The reigns of King Bodawpaya and King Mindon in the Konboun era left many stories based on oral literature which put the kings in a perspective different from that of court-centered documents.

Myanmar word 'Yazawin'; which is in Pali Raja-vamsa, means 'chronicles or lineage of kings'. It was closely associated with other Pali terms such as 'Buddha-

¹ *Thaung Blackmore, 'Burmese Historical Literature and Native and Foreign Scholarship: A few observations', Historical Archaeological and Linguistic Studies, ed. F.S. Drake, Hong Kong, 1967. p. 45.*

² *Tun Aung Chain, 'Chronicling the Late Nyaungyan', Myanmar Historical Research Journal, No-14, Yangon, December 2004, p.1*

³ *Great Chronicle*

⁴ *Prince Chronicle*

⁵ *Oral Yazawin*

vamsa⁶, or chronicle of the Buddhas, and Maha-vamsa⁷: chronicle of the great kings of Ceylon. The first Myanmar chronicle in the sixteenth century by the monk-poet Shin Maha Thila Wuntha is called Maha Samata-vamsa (the chronicle of the Maha Thamada), the forbear of the Buddha.⁸

When we consider the Myanmar word 'Yazawin', people tend to think that they are only chronicles of kings written in prose. In fact, there are two kinds of chronicles in Myanmar literature; prose chronicles and chronicles in verse.

These chronicles can further be divided into two categories: chronicles of narrative and chronicles of record. There is a difference in character between these two. Although both supply a bulk of historical facts and figures, the chronicle of narrative is more of a narrative nature and the chronicle of record like an account, providing details of certain events and court rituals, which interrupt the flow of its narrative.

Thus, chronicles narrated in prose consist of Myanmar chronicles of kings such as *U Kala's Maha Yazawingyi*, *Glass Palace chronicle*, *Konbougset chronicle*, *Ayedawbon kyans*, etc, and chronicles narrated in verse are *Eigyin*,⁹ *Yazawin than bauk*,¹⁰ and so on.

Similarly, the examples of chronicles recorded in prose are works of merit by kings and members of the royalty, official diaries, royal edicts, etc and chronicles recorded in verse include *Mawgun*¹¹ and others.

1.2 Ayedawbon

Yazawin or Chronicles are distinguished from Ayedawbon Kyans¹² by the fact that Yazawin are accounts of many reigns and dynasties, whereas an Ayedawbon kyan focuses on a specific king and his struggle in a particular period in history. It is

⁶ In Myanmar 'Buddha-win'

⁷ In Myanmar 'Mahawin'

⁸ Hla Pe, *Burma: Literature, Historiography, Scholarship, Language, Life and Buddhism*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Pasir Panjang, Singapore 0511, © Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985.p. 45.

⁹ A special type of cradle song for royal children known as *eigyin* or ballads was written in verse form in order to glorify the military achievements of the ruling family and to instill pride of family and race in the royal children such as *Min Ye Kyaw Swa Soun eigyin*.

¹⁰ epigrams on dynastic history written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

¹¹ another type of verse composed to record certain events for which the Myanmar court felt important

¹² treatises

believed that the first Ayedawbon kyan 'Razadirit Ayedawbon' was written by Mon minister Banyas Dala in the seventeenth century. In fact, Banyas Dala translated the first volume of ancient Mon history of Thaton-Hanthawadi from King Wareru (Magadu) to Rajadirit into Myanmar and named it 'The Struggle of Rajadirit.' He is also supposed to have invented the word 'Ayedawbon'. According to Dr. Hla Pe, there are many works of such nature. The two best known are: Mani Yadana bon treatise which tells of a wise minister during the reign of King Min Gaung (1401-22) of the Innwa dynasty, 1781; and Ya-zaw-wada kyan, a treatise on advice to kings, 1832.¹³

Ayedawbon treatise is basically a detailed record of the campaign waged by one person. However, it matters not whether he succeeded it in his endeavor. It also records military campaigns waged by one king to expand territories or make his influence felt by neighboring countries and invariably includes a plethora of military strategies and tactics to be applied in war. Apart from these, Ayedawbon could be the record of the achievements of great kings such as building of new royal palace or city, constructing and repairing of pagodas, propagating the Buddha Sasana, etc. (For example, Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon reveals that King Bayintnaung built two out-laying towns of Myawadi and Kalay and constructed a new royal palace at Hanthawadi.)

There are about seven Ayedawbon kyans or treatises but only five can be classified by Myanmar historians as prominent: Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon, Rajadirit Ayedawbon, Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon, Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon and Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbon.

The remaining two Ayedawbon kyans are Majjhimadesa Ayedawbon and Hsin Phyu Shin Ayedawbon. Majjhimadesa Ayedawbon concerns the two major uprisings in Rakhine region and the first Myanmar mission sent to India for copying and collecting Sanskrit treatises. Hsin Phyu Shin Ayedawbon covered the first five years of King Bodawpaya's reign to 1786 CE. It so happens that the author himself died in 1791 though the king ruled from 1782 to 1816 CE. However, they pose some problems in coming to be defined as Ayedawbon.

¹³ Hla Pe, *Burma: Literature, Historiography, Scholarship, Language, Life, and Buddhism*, p 42

Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon covers the period c. 825 CE from the reign of Kanrajagyi of the Dhanyawadi period to 1784 CE when the line of Rakhine kings ended. In the Ayedawbon, from the time of King Sanda Thuriya (C.E. 146-198), the line of Rakhine kings is given, with more detailed accounts of kings Minbyagyi, Min Phalaung and Min Rajagyi until the time of King Maha Thamada Raja when Rakhine became part of the Myanmar kingdom in 1784. Unlike the other Ayedawbons, this Ayedawbon does not give emphasis on individual king but on events in the whole Rakhine region.

Rajadirit Ayedawbon begins with Magadu¹⁴ and ends with the death of King Rajadirit in 1423. Thus, this Ayedawbon covers a period of about 165 years. This Ayedawbon also does not focus on particular kings but on incidents in the reigns of two Mon kings; Wareru and Rajadirit.

Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon describes the life and the military campaigns of King Bayintnaung in Taungoo period. In the Ayedawbon, there are detailed accounts of the military campaigns both at home and abroad.

Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbon covers the reigns to two kings: Nyaung Yan and his son, Anaukphelon. Though famous Myanmar historian Dr. Yi Yi states that this work is just like a notebook in which extracts from U Kala and Min Ye Dibba eigin had

been copied by someone,¹⁵ it is still of considerable value to historians because there are only few works on the Nyaung Yan Dynasty.

Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon covers the life of King Alaungpaya and gives many particulars of his military campaigns. By his death in 1760, the former chief of a small Muksobo village had unified Myanmar for the third time in history. This Ayedawbon ends with Alaungpaya's death on his return journey after a failed campaign against Ayutthaya in 1760.

In presenting the thesis, I use materials from both Thai and Myanmar sources. I would like to highlight four prominent contributions in my thesis.

¹⁴ Aka King Wareru

¹⁵ Yi Yi, Dr. 'Ayedawbon kyan mya pyat-thana,' [The problems of Ayedawbon kyans], in Kantha Sein-Lei Sardanmya. Yangon: Minhla Sarpay, 1969. p. 30-62.

Myanmar and Thailand shared history dating back centuries. Scholars of old from both countries recorded these histories in their own chronicles or literary works. It is therefore important to make comparative studies on literature and histories of Thai and Myanmar in order to verify them and reach a calculable truth. As they are contemporaneous and reliable, Ayedawbon kyans are a good Myanmar source to conduct a comparative study with Thai literature.

Secondly, students of Thai studies can benefit from the research work on Ayedawbon kyans because they registered the continuous events from 1284 to 1760 CE, thus providing uninterrupted history for both Myanmar and Thailand.

Thirdly, I will look into the shortcomings in Thai and Myanmar historiographies as regards to Thai and Myanmar relations and the insufficient status of progress in the writings of Myanmar-Thai relations as a whole.

Finally, it would be beneficial to the scholars of Thai studies because the history of Myanmar-Thai relations from 16th to 19th century will be presented from Myanmar's point of view.

1.3 The importance of comparative study in literature and history of Myanmar and Thailand

As Ayedawbon kyans reflect the shared history of Myanmar and Thailand, a closer examination is needed of Myanmar and Thai literature which contain related histories and their influence on the people of both countries. In this regard, comparative studies of Myanmar-Thai literature should be pursued.

There are few attempts by historians, particularly those competent to handle sources from both countries, and focus on comparative studies on literature and history of Myanmar and Thailand. Experience has shown us that such studies can be done fruitfully.

There are many discrepancies between Myanmar and Thai historical documents. Therein it is essential to re-examine and reassess the standard history works of both countries. I would like to give two case studies or examples in this regard.

The first one concerns the work of Dr. Sunait Chutintaranond (1995)– he has demonstrated that the battle of Chiangkhran of 1538, which for seventy years has been counted in Thai history books as the first war between Myanmar and Siam, cannot have taken place at that time.¹⁶

It was a period when the Burmese leaders, with the assistance of Portuguese mercenaries and military advisors, began an unprecedented series of daring military exploits that were to change the political history of the whole of Mainland Southeast Asia. In the year 1539, after a long siege, the Mon capital Pegu fell to the Taungoo ruler Tabinshwehti (1531-1550). And it was followed by the conquest of Martaban, Moulmein, Tavoy, Prome and Bagan.

When Dr. Sunait showed that what has been known in Thai history as the war of Chiangkhran¹⁷ cannot have taken place in the year 1538, he also drew attention to the fact that Prince Damrong who first recorded this war in his classic *Thai Rop Phama* had based himself upon a rather short and cryptic remark in the Luang Prasoet Chronicle.

Moreover, Dr. Sunait pointed out that according to the U Kala's Maha Yazawingyi, a Thai raid into Mon country did take place eight years later, in 1546 when King Tabinshwehti laid siege to the capital of Rakhine. The Siamese King Maha Chakkraphat used this occasion to send a large army to capture Tavoy. But the Myanmar king retaliated and expelled the Siamese.

Victor Lieberman, who has made a detailed study of U Kala's chronicle, has found him remarkably accurate. Furthermore, European scholars such as Sangermano, Phayre, and Harvey used the Mahayazawin as an authoritative source.¹⁸ In the words of Harvey, 'it is impossible to study these (Burmese chronicles), especially in conjunction with the other records, without acquiring considerable respect for them. No other country on the mainland of Indo-China can show so impressive a continuity.

¹⁶ Sunait Chutintaranond, *Phama Rop Thai: Wa Duai Kansongkram rawang Thai kap Phama*, Bangkok: Sinlapawathnatham, chabap Phiset, B.E. 2537, pp. 145-168, and Sunait Chutintaranond and Than Tun, *On Both Sides of the Tenasserim Range, Asian Studies Monographs No. 50*, Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1995, pp. 40-41.

¹⁷ in *Mon Territory*.

¹⁸ Tin Ohn, 'Modern Historical Writing in Burmese, 1729-1942', *Indigenous Writings*, p 90.

The great record of substantially accurate dates goes back for no less than nine centuries and even the earlier legends have a substratum of truth.' On the other hand, because of the destruction of the Siamese capital in the eighteenth century, the compilers of the royal chronicles during the early Bangkok period appear to have had relatively few sources relating to events taking place in the middle of the sixteenth century.

The second case study is also related to the Myanmar invasion of Ayutthaya in 1548 by King Tabinshwehti. In both Thai and Myanmar historical sources, there is a difference to a remarkable extent as to what actually happened. Despite the fact that the two accounts coincide with regard to many facts, the death of Queen Suriyothai is not mentioned in Myanmar chronicles. Luang Prasoet chronicle stated that when King Maha Chakkraphat went forth to do battle with Hongsawadi army, his chief queen and his daughter, riding elephants, accompanied him. And when they did battle with the Hongsawadi army, the vanguard was routed and, colliding with the main army, created enormous confusion. And the Chief queen and daughter fought with the enemy until they lost their lives on the necks of their elephants.¹⁹ Other Siamese chronicles written in Bangkok period said that Queen Suriyothai alone died in battle. Furthermore, Myanmar chronicles state that after acknowledging the defeat in the 1548 war, King Maha Chakkraphat had to pay the Myanmar king an annual tribute of 30 war elephants, 300 ticals for silver, and the custom revenues of Tenasserim,²⁰ whereas Siamese chronicles did not mention in their respective chronicles.

In the Siamese version, the Ayutthaya king is forced to negotiate for peace because Myanmar held such important hostages as King's sons Ramesuan and Phra Mahin. The Myanmar king asked for the elephants Phlaisrimongkhon and Phlaimongkhonthawip. The Siamese king accepted this and the princes were released. However, these elephants behaved in such an unruly manner that the Myanmar decided to return them.²¹

¹⁹ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya translated by Richard D. Cushman and edited by David K. Wyatt, The Siam Society under Royal Patronage 2000, p 27*

²⁰ *Kala,U, 'Maha Yazawingyi, Vol II, Yarpyi publishing house, Yangon, p. 275*

²¹ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya, translated by R.D. Cushman and ed by David K. Wyatt, The Siam Society under Royal Patronage 2000, p. 40*

After close examination, the Myanmar account represents a scenario that might actually have taken place while the Thai accounts remain quite puzzling. If the Siamese king decided to negotiate for the release of such important hostages, it appears that the price of two elephants that then were found to be unruly and were immediately returned was exceptionally cheap. The negotiation seems to have been wholly to the benefit of the Siamese and the Myanmar would seem unusually inept, to say the least.²²

It can be seen that by applying comparative study on Myanmar and Thai literature, we can construct more accurate historical events and the readers will come closer to the truth.

Similarly, the ancient history of Myanmar is considerably woven with myth, legend, folklore and extravaganza – variegated and conflicting – that gave birth to the saying: "When thou talkest of Bagan history, take thou a stick to support thee!" Another flaw in Myanmar literature is panegyric writing which distorts and prejudices the historical value. Dr. Hla Pe writes that whatever theme he chose, the poet would invariably make the warp out of the glory and achievements of the then reigning king and take the event of the day as the weft, and weave them into a fabric with an ornate pattern.²³

Nevertheless, as certain literature reflects the prevailing political, economic and social situation in a particular period in history, it is recommended to explore these areas to be more efficient in dealing with the histories of both countries and the relations between the two countries.

Returning to Ayedawbon treatises, all Ayedawbons except Danyawadi Ayedawbon cover four major periods which are conventionally divided into the Innwa period (1364-1555); the Taungoo period (1555- 1599); the Nyaung Yan period (1599 - 1752); and the Konboun period (1752-1885). As mentioned earlier wars with Siam raged on over centuries, and Myanmar has a shared history with Siam from Innwa to Konboun period. A great deal of historic events is recorded both in

²² Prof. D.J. Terwief, *The Changing Tide of Warfare: Early Burmese and Siamese Accounts Confronted, From Fact to Fiction: History to Thai-Myanmar Relations in Cultural Context*, IAS Monographs No. 054, p.28.

²³ Hla Pe, *Burma: Literature, Historiography, Scholarship, Language, Life, and Buddhism*, p 43.

Myanmar and Thai literature. Thus, to working out a detailed study on Ayedawbon treatises which provide contemporary accounts indispensable to the understanding of Siam-Myanmar relations from mid 16th to mid 19th century would be of use to Thai studies.

It is also interesting to note that never before has anyone attempted to translate these famous work into the English language. It may be due to circumstances and its time consuming nature. If the research work on these Ayedawbon treatises could be carried out, the outcome will be a rich source for scholars of both countries and for the rest of the world.

1.4 Study on Myanmar-Thai relations

If we consider Thai-Myanmar historical relations, many people may likely to think of the long series of conflicts spanning over four centuries, from the mid 16th to the mid 19th, between Siam and Myanmar. There is no denying the fact that war is the main part of the relations between the two countries and public obsession with Myanmar-Siam warfare is quite understandable. However, scant attention has been given to economic and cultural factors.

Another point is that research on historical relations between Siam and Myanmar are less in number than that of Thai and other neighboring states such as the Malay states, Cambodia and Laos. History theses in the field of Siam-Myanmar relations are not only small in number but are also greatly limited in terms of in-depth analysis, approach, perspective and source materials.²⁴

In Thailand, advanced research works on Siam-Myanmar historical relations, with challenging analysis as well as masterly handling of source materials, are written by senior professional historians. Until a few decades ago, the field of Thai-Myanmar historical relations was dominated by a few army historians. But they were mostly concerned with the military affairs and their works are limited in scope. The 6 volume semi-popular history by Major General Chanya Prachitromran is an obvious product of this school.²⁵

²⁴ Chalong Soontravanich, *Research on Thai-Myanmar Historical Relations in Thailand, Comparative Studies on Literature and History of Thailand and Myanmar*, p.98

²⁵ *Ibid*, p.99. The translated titles of each of the 6 volumes are as follows: *The first fall of Ayutthaya in 1569; The second fall of Ayutthaya in 1767; Warfare during the reigns of Naresuan and Ekathosarot: Phra Maha Thammaracha, Naresuan and Ekathosarot; Taksin; and Rama I.*

With regard to the recent development in the Thai-Myanmar historical relations, Dr. Sunait is the one who has been doing several research works. Having learnt the

Myanmar language and Myanmar history, he thus approaches the subjects from a Western, Thai and Myanmar perspective.

I would like to quote some lines from 'Research on Thai-Myanmar Historical Relations in Thailand' written by Chalong Soontravanich;

"Any discussion of the recent development in the Thai-Myanmar historical relations must include the numerous research works of Dr. Sunait Chutintaranond. In fact, during the past ten years or so there was no major research on Thai-Myanmar historical relations by any other Thai historian. Since his research works are already well-known to students of Thai and Myanmar studies, it suffices to say that in the general field of Thai-Myanmar historical relations with the particular attention to the relations between the courts of Ayutthaya and Bangkok on one part and those of Myanmar on the other, his are so far the only that break new ground, offer fresh interpretation and diverse approach with a wider range of problems addressed and original analysis,²⁶ especially in terms of traditional Mainland Southeast Asian political ideology²⁷ and above all with his masterly command of Thai records and literature and a working knowledge of Myanmar historical sources."²⁸

There have been few attempts by historians, particularly those competent to handle sources from both countries, to focus on Myanmar-Thai relations. Part of the difficulty is that few have the inclination to pursue such a demanding task of mastering the histories and cultures of both societies. Myanmar historians should take

²⁶ See, for example, Sunait Chutintaranond, *Burengnong Kayawdinnawratha: Kasat Bhamai Nai Lokathat Thai (Bayinnaung: Thai Perceptions of a Myanmar King)*, Bangkok, Amarin Printing, 1995 (in Thai)

²⁷ See Sunait Chutintaranond, "Cakravartin: Ideology, Reason and Manifestation of Siamese and Burmese Kings in Traditional Warfare (1538-1854)," *Crossroads*, 4:1 (Fall, 1988), and Sunait Chutintaranond, "Chakrapatdirat: Khwamkhid Thang Kanmuang Buanglang Songkhram Thai Rop Bhamai (BE 2081-2397)," (*Cakravartin: Political Ideology of the Thai-Myanmar Wars (1538-1854)*, *Muang Boran*, 14:2, 1988.

²⁸ Chalong Soontravanich, *Research on Thai-Myanmar Historical Relations in Thailand, Comparative Studies on Literature and History of Thailand and Myanmar*, p.99-100.

it as a challenge and reciprocate by undertaking a study of Thai culture and history, and attempting to emulate the example Dr. Sunait has begun.

So, it is crucial for understanding Myanmar history, culture and even language in studying Thai studies. Only then can Myanmar historians' view of their own history and the history of Thai-Myanmar relations be fully appreciated and Myanmar historical records be satisfactorily exploited.

The study of history can contribute to a better understanding between nations. In the case of Myanmar and Thailand, a deeper understanding of Thai-Myanmar historical relations and of Myanmar history itself will certainly offer a wider range of historical perspective for looking into Thai history, an opportunity to acquire new insight, reach new interpretations and gain access to richer source materials.²⁹

Before we delve into Ayedawbon kyans, I would like to mention Myanmar classical literature in chapter II of this dissertation. Apart from prose writing, Myanmar literature is mostly composed as poems. There are over 50 genres of poems in Myanmar literature. The Myanmar term for poetry is *kabya linka* which derives from two Sansrit words: *kavya*, a name for a certain kind of poetry, and *alamkara*, an ornament of the sound or of the sense.

Historical writing in poetic forms includes a variety of verse forms such as *mawgun*, *eigyin*, *pyo*, *igyin*, *kar gyin*, *yadu*, *yagan*, *tawla*, *teidat*, etc. Likewise, historical writings in prose contain stone inscriptions, chronicles, royal orders, various treatises, Ayedawbon kyans and so on. Many are great works of high literary merit by numerous poets and writers from ancient times to the end of the Myanmar monarchy in 1885.

One may question why Myanmar literature is spoken of in a subject explicitly called Thai studies. The reason for this incongruity would be firstly that Myanmar history is a part of Thai history. And literature and history being sister arts, therein make Myanmar literature a constituent of Thai studies.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p.101.

1.5 Objectives

This research study has the following specific objectives.

- To analyze the works of Myanmar literati who wove the intricate but vivid events of their times into literary works which reflect the shared history of Siam and Myanmar.
- To work out a detailed study of Ayedawbon treatises which provide contemporary accounts indispensable to the understanding of Siam-Myanmar relations from mid 16th to mid 19th century.

1.6 Hypothesis

Ayedawbon Kyans, an important genre of Myanmar literature, provide opportunities for Thai people to exploit one of Myanmar literary forms, thereby appreciate each other's history and literature.

1.7 Research Methodology

The data used in this study of Ayedawbon treatises relies on a historical approach. The data is primarily based on documentary material. Information and statistics on Siam-Myanmar relations were collected from old journals of JSS (Journal of Siam Society) and JBRS (Journal of Burma Research Society).

A historical methodology and documentary analysis approach to primary and secondary sources relating to topic are also employed in the dissertation. Primary sources on Thai history consist of: Luang Prasoet Chronicle, Royal Ayutthaya Chronicles of Bangkok period, Royal Autograph Chronicle and Chronicle of Our wars with the Burmese. Secondary sources consist of literary works such as On both sides of the Tenasserim Range; History of Siamese Burmese Relations, From fact to fiction, Cakravartin, the ideology of traditional warfare in Siam and Burma, 1548-1605, Comparative Studies on Literature and History of Thailand and Myanmar, Thai Historiography from Ancient times to the Modern Period, Ayutthaya and Cambodian Chronicles, etc.

Primary sources on Myanmar history consist of: Ayedawbon 5 saung twe (5 volumes of Ayedawbons), Ayedawbon 6 saung twe (6 volumes of Ayedawbons),

Hisn Phyu Shin Ayedawbon, Majjhimadesa Ayedawbon, standard Myanmar Chronicles such as Maha Yazawingyi, Hmannan Maha Yazawindawgyi and Konbougset Maha Yazawindawgyi, etc. Secondary sources consist of literary works such as Burma: Literature, Historiography, Scholarship, Language, Life and Buddhism, Aspects of Myanmar history and culture, Burmese Drama: A study, with translations of Burmese plays, Myanmar Sarpay Thamaing, Yun Ayutthaya in Myanmar literature, Sarsodaw mya Athotkepatti, Ayedawbon kyan mya pyat-thana, etc.

1.8 Outlines of the thesis

In the thesis, I will give an emphasis on Myanmar literature focusing on poems relating to Siam-Myanmar relation. Next, the significance of Ayedawbon treatises will be dealt with. What will follow is a translation of selected Ayedawbons that elaborate on the history of Myanmar-Siam relations from 16th to 19th century. The last sections of my thesis will be analysis and discussion and finally conclusion.

1.9 Scope of study

The scope of this thesis covers 5 periods ruled by successive dynasties of Myanmar kings: Pinya and Innwa period (from the reign of Mon King Waru to the death of King Rajadirit), Taungoo period (during the reign of King Bayintnaung until the fall of Hanthawadi), Nyaung Yan period (from the reign of King Nyaung Yan to the death of King Anaukphetlun) and Konboug period (from the rise of King Alaungpaya to the reign of King Bodawpaya).

This study mainly focuses on Innwa, Taungoo and Konboug eras because many interesting events involving Siam-Myanmar relations and warfare took place during these periods.

1.10. Definition

In the Myanmar language, *Aye* means business or affairs, *daw* carries the meaning of royalty and *bon* is a narrative or sequence of events. Thus, the literal meaning of Ayedawbon is 'the story of royal affairs.' Ayedawbon kyans are high literary merit in the history of Myanmar. They give more emphasis on clear and straightforward description rather than high-sounding and flowery style.

Like Ayedawbon, there are treatises similar in name but materials contained therein are quite different from those of Ayedawbon: *Ameidawbon* and *Ahmadawbon*. *Ameidawbon* is a compilation of questions and problems posed by the king or learned ministers, and comprehensive answers given by venerable monks, or eminent scholars while *Ahmadawbon* is the enumeration of the mistakes of a particular king that eventually led to his downfall. (For example, Ngazu Dayaka Min Ahmadawbon, Hanthawadi Pa Min Ahmadawbon, and Thibaw Min Ahmadawbon)

Ayedawbon is the record of the struggle and achievements of the glorious and powerful king whereas Ahmadawbon is about the defeated or dethroned kings who were not equal to the situation. Though these genres have faded in the course of time, the word Ayedawbon is still widely used in modern times. There are books with titles like Thakhin Nu Ayedawbon, Peasant Ayedawbon, Student Ayedawbon, Worker Ayedawbon, etc.

CHAPTER II: MYANMAR CLASSICAL LITERATURE

Myanmar script had its source in Brahmi script which flourished in India from about 500 BCE to over 300 CE. If we traced back to the emergence and development of Brahmi script, it was first seen about 500 BCE and had spread throughout India by 300 BCE in the reign of King Asoka. After the dissolution of the Maurya Empire and its subsequent periods, a great number of scripts such as Kusan, Gupta, Kutila, Nagari, and Bengali developed in northern and eastern India while Palava, Kadamba, Pacchimi, Telugu, Kanti, Grantha and Tamil grew across the middle and the south India. These Brahmi related scripts spread to Tibet, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia and Indonesia along with the Indian beliefs and culture.³⁰

Around that time in Myanmar, there developed the civilization of Pyu, Myanmar, Mon and Rakhine. During the intercourse with India, these Brahmi and Brahmi derived scripts arrived in Myanmar in their successive periods. To cut the long story short, the old Pyu script resembles the Kadamba script of Southern India. The script of Rakhine Vesali is similar to the Gupta script descended from Brahmi. Mon writings are not dissimilar to the Palava script of the 4th century CE South India. Finally, Myanmar script which is related to Pali, Sanskrit and Mon scripts descended from Brahmi began to be developed in the Bagan period.³¹

The history of historical writing in Myanmar is as old as that of the Myanmar literature. The earliest of the Myanmar writings namely the inscriptions of Bagan eleventh to thirteenth centuries, contain the traces of historical writing. The system of dates, the use of 'Sakaraj' which was so essential to the writing of chronicles, was fully developed in the inscriptions.³² Thus, the nucleus of my observation on the aspect of Myanmar classical literature will mainly based on the periods ruled by these dynasties.

³⁰ Myanmar Language Commission, 'A history of the Myanmar Alphabet', Myanmar English dictionary, p iv

³¹ *ibid*, p. viii.

³² Tin Ohn, 'Modern Historical Writing in Burmese, 1724-1942', *Historian of Southeast Asia*, ed by D.G.E. Hall, Great Britain, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1961, p 90.

Besides pre-Bagan period the events of which are mostly mythical, legendary and conjectural, there are 6 periods in the history of Myanmar monarchical times.

They are:

Bagan period, 1044-1287

Myin Saing, Sagaing and Pinya period, 1287-1364

Innwa (Ava) period, 1364-1555

Taungoo period, 1555-1599

Nyaung Yan period (Restored Taungoo period), 1599-1752

Konboun33 period, 1752-1885

Each era is named after the capital city of these dynasties. For example, Bagan period is named after the then capital city of Bagan. Similarly, Pinya, Innwa, Taungoo periods, etc, are named after their respective capital cities. Only the Nyaung Yan and Konboun are exceptional. The royal cities of the Nyaung Yan dynasty were first Hanthawaddy and then Innwa but of the Konboun period Shwebo, Innwa, Amarapura and Mandalay in that order.

2.1 Bagan Period (1044-1297)

The earliest works of Myanmar literature date back to the Bagan dynasty. In this era, the practice of stone writing flourished between the 12th and 14th century.

The forms of vernacular literature of this period are

- (1) the short epigraphs, written in ink or incised in clay, describing scenes from the holy books;
- (2) the stone and ink inscriptions recording dedications, and
- (3) palm leaf writing, kept in coffers in the palace archives, record-room of deeds done (amu or amo kwan).³⁴

Most of these writings were written in prose which recorded acts of merit performed by monarchs and the content is almost entirely limited to religion and royalty. The Myinkaba Kubyaukkya Inscription set up by Prince Rajakumar in 1112 CE records a memorable event in four languages, namely in Pyu, Mon, Pali and

³³ *The name of the Konboun dynasty came from the high ridge of land (levee) running north to south, constructed by Alaung Situ (1112-1167) to the east of Shwebo.*

³⁴ *Luce. B.H., 'Burma's debt to Pagan', Journal of Burma Research Society, Volume 22, Part 3, 1932. @ 1998- Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand. p 126*

Myanmar. In this famous inscription, we find that the Myanmar text is in simple, straightforward prose with signs of unsettled orthography and phonology. The rendering made from this inscription is as follows:

"When 1628 years elapsed after the death of Lord Buddha, Sri Tribuvannadityadammaraja³⁵ was king in the city of Aniruddha³⁶. The king had a beloved queen named Trilokavatamssak Devi³⁷ to whom the king had given three villages of slaves. When the queen died the king gave them over to her son named Razakumar.

When the king was sick and at the point of his death, his only son Razakumar who remembered the many great favors with which the king had nourished him, made a golden image of Buddha and presented it to the king and said – this golden image I have made to help my Lord. The three villages of slaves which my Lord had given me, I now dedicate to this Buddha. May my Lord approve? – ³⁸

However, Myanmar language greatly improved towards the end of the Bagan period. In Sakarac 628, an unselfish daughter of Thinkathu, who was also a queen, had inscribed prayer in the dedication of Amana Monastery:

"May the merit of my deed go also to the King, ruler of us all and lord of land and water. By virtue of my work, may he live long, seeking the welfare and happiness of all who live in the realm, and upholding this foundation. May the queens also, and all the ladies in waiting share it.

May they look at one another with eyes of love, without one speck of anger or cloying. May all Kings, Princes, Ministers and the people of the present and of the future share it and support this foundation. May King Yama and all creatures also share it. May those who desire worldly prosperity get it. May those who prefer to do good deed do them.

³⁵ King Kyansitha

³⁶ Bagan

³⁷ Flower of the three world

³⁸ Pan Hla, Nai. 'Mon Literature & Culture over Thailand and Burma', (A Speech delivered at the International Seminar), Harvard University in August 1958. p74.

For myself, I pray that I may never be covetous, insatiate, wrathful, bullying, ignorant, dull, stingy, mean, unfaithful, frivolous, forgetful or inconsiderate."³⁹

In Sakarac 633, the following prayer is made by the proudest woman in all Bagan in Minwaing inscription. She was the wife of King Kyaw Swa, mother of King Uzana and grandmother of King Narathihapate.

"Before I attain nirvana, by virtue of the work of merit I have done on such a big scale, if I am born as a man, I wish to have prosperity and happiness above all men.

If I am born a spirit, I wish to be endowed above all spirits with noble and enthralling beauty of complexion and especially I wish to be long-lived, free from sickness, beautiful, sweet-voiced, well-proportioned in limbs, beloved, respected and admired of all men and spirits.

I wish to be possessed an abundance of gold, silver, rubies, pearls, corals and other inanimate things, and elephants, horses and such other living things. I wish to be great, through my power, in influence, retinue and fame."⁴⁰

Apart from these stone writings, there are the two oldest mentions in Myanmar of palm leaf literature; one in Bagan period and the other in Pinya period although the use of palm leaf for manuscripts dates back to the Pyu of Sriksetra. It is also interesting to note that two different types of palm leaf were then used; not only the *pe*⁴¹ in use today, but also the leaf of the *palmyra*.⁴²

In 1271 CE, for example, the elder Queen Phwa Saw made a list of her various dedications and showed it to the king in audience. The king ordered that it should be preserved in the archives. It was then placed in a wooden coffer – 8 sheets of gilded palm leaf, tied with gold thread and bound in painted boards.⁴³

Only a few poetic works can be found in Bagan period as the Myanmar language is clearly in a rudimentary stage. Before the time of king Anawrahta, there

³⁹ *Pe Maung Tin, U. 'Women in the Inscription of Bagan', Journal of Burma Research Society, Volume 25, Part 3, 1935. @ 1998- Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand. p 157*

⁴⁰ *Ibid. p 157-158.*

⁴¹ *Corypha umbraculifera*

⁴² *Borassus flabellifer*

⁴³ *Luce, G. H. 'Burma's Debt to Pagan'. Journal of Burma Research Society, Volume 22, Part 3, 1932. @ 1998- Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand. p 126*

are extant three very old and ancient Royal boat songs, one in honor of the motion of the royal barge, another in honor of pulling it, a third in honor of stopping it. The date of origin of these songs, however, is still unknown.

Myanmar term for poetry is *linka* and another generic term for both poetry and songs is *kabya*, the work or property of a kavi or poet. The earliest known poetry is the '*Manu Dhammathat Linka*' composed by Shin Buddhaghosa during the reign of Tha-ra-mun phyra (494-510 CE). Dhammathat literature later developed and many dhammathats became the main source of Myanmar law. They are normally classified under four heads: Dhammathats proper; Hpyat hton;⁴⁴ Khwe' bon;⁴⁵ and Linka.⁴⁶

Some famous kabya linka of this period are '*Law of nature*' by court minister Anandathuriya, '*Poppa Nattaung*' in the time of King Thele-kyaung, and '*Mya-kan bwe linka*' in the time of King Kyaswa⁴⁷ by anonymous writers, etc.

'The law of nature' is one of the well known death songs in Myanmar literature. The tradition says that in 536 B.E. during the reign of Narapatisithu, Anantathuriya, son of the attendant of Minyin Naratheinkha, elder brother of the King was sentenced to death. Just before the execution, he wrote four stanzas of linka for the king. The executioners killed him and afterwards offered the writing. Relenting on hearing the poem, the king immediately commanded that the prisoner should be set free but the deed was already done. The King in anger killed all the executioners.

'Death Song'

When one attains prosperity, another is sure to perish.

It is the law of nature.

Happiness of life as King - Having a golden palace to dwell in,

Court-life, with a host of ministers about one,

Enjoyment – shadow – peace,

No break to felicity -

Is but a bubble mounting for a moment to the surface of the ocean.

Though he kill me not,

But in mercy and pity release me,

I shall not escape my karma.

Man's stark-seeming body

Lasteth not ever;

⁴⁴ *Rulings*

⁴⁵ *Compediums and Digests*

⁴⁶ *Versifications*

⁴⁷ *a eulogy to water tanks dug by King Kyansittha at the foot of Mt. Turin in Bagan*

Verily it is the nature of every living thing to decay.
 Thy slave, I beg
 But to bow down in homage and adore thee!
 If in the wheel of Samsara
 My past deeds offer me vantage,
 I seek not for vengeance.
 Nay, master, mine awe of thee is too strong!
 If I might, yet I would not touch thee;
 I would let thee pass without scathe.

The blood is transitory, as all the elements of my body.⁴⁸
 These four verses are said to be the first specimens of the four syllables Pyo.

However, the authenticity of the dates of origin of all these poems is somewhat doubtful. According to Professor Luce, the Myanmar of Bagan period was a prose-writer, and not a poet. He further states that the name Anatuasura occurs frequently, but never Ananta- suriya.⁴⁹

Also, many Myanmar historians and scholars have small faith in the alleged antiquity of Anantathuriya's death song, and in other poems of this period. They attribute these linkas to the subsequent periods.

The Mongol invasion of Bagan in 1287 and the flight of King Narathihapate⁵⁰ to Patheingyi in the south brought to an end of the magnificent Bagan period.

2.2 Pinya Period (1298-1364)

After the fall of Bagan, a nominal kingship was revived at Bagan in the person of Kyaw Swa who was anointed king on Monday 30 May 1289. To make himself secure on the throne, he sent his son and heir to Peking in 1297.⁵¹ In March of that year the Mongol Emperor, the scourge of God, granted an official appointment to Kyaw Swa as the king of Myanmar.

⁴⁸ Pe Maung Tin, U. 'Anantathuriya's Death Song', *Journal of Burma Research Society*, Volume 9, Part 3, 1919. @ 1998- Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand. p 153.

⁴⁹ Luce, G.H. 'Burma's debt to Pagan'. *Journal of Burma Research Society*, Volume 22, Part 3, 1932. @ 1998- Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand. p 128.

⁵⁰ (or Tarokpyemin, meaning "the king who fled from the Chinese")

⁵¹ Than Tun. 'History of Burma: AD 1300-1400'. *Journal of Burma Research Society*, Volume 42, 1959. @ 1998- Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand. p 119.

However, the actual rulers of the Central Myanmar were the three Shan brothers from Myin Saing.⁵² They put Kyaw Swa to death in 1299 CE and established the Pinya dynasty. With the support of the three brothers, Saw Hnit, son of Kyaw Swa became the next king at Bagan. His rival claimant, Kumara Kassapa, another son of Kyaw Swa escaped into Yunnan to invoke the help of the Mongols. On 22 June 1300, he was declared by the Mongol Emperor as the rightful king of Myanmar.

While the Chinese army under the command of Mangu Turumish marched to Kyaukse, Kumara Kassapa went to Bagan. He became known as the king who came from the land of the Turks and ascended the throne. However, he went back with the Mongol when they retreated. The invaders reached Myin Saing on 25 January 1313 but persuaded to go back and so the retreat begun on 6 April 1301. To avoid further invasions, envoys were sent with tributes to China.

Although the three Shan brothers were of Shan origin, unlike the northern Shans, they were Buddhists and left all their inscriptions in Myanmar. According to one inscription, they got help from Chiangmai in the occupation of Kyaukse, a granary of Central Myanmar.⁵³

In 1288 CE, with the approval of King Kyaw Swa, the dedication made at the Kyauk zedi, Singaing, Kyaukse by the Three Shan Brothers were recorded in archives. It was written on leaves of the toddy palm, and bound between two boards of cotton wood.⁵⁴

During this period, three primary types of literature flourished, taja-gyin⁵⁵, kagyin⁵⁶ and Yadu⁵⁷.

The following is the triumphant martial song or kagyin sung and danced by King Thihathu, the youngest of the three brothers, when the Chinese withdrew from Myanmar soil;

"The Chinks came down the passes,
Roaring, boys, roaring;

⁵² *The first mention of Myin Saing in the inscriptions is 1266 CE.*

⁵³ *Than Tun. 'History of Burma: AD 1300-1400'. Journal of Burma Research Society, Volume 42, 1959. @ 1998- Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand. p 121.*

⁵⁴ *Luce, G.H. 'Burma's debt to Pagan'. Journal of Burma Research Society, Volume 22, Part 3, 1932. @ 1998- Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand. p 128.*

⁵⁵ *a kind of Myanmar classical song with the same opening and closing note.*

⁵⁶ *Martial song.*

⁵⁷ *lyrical ode on the seasons, love, etc.*

The rain of their arrows
Pouring, boys, pouring."⁵⁸

Yadu normally consists of three stanzas. The content may include advice or praise offered to a king but the main feature is feelings of sadness and longing arising from separation from a lover or beloved place.

Yadu is a corruption of the Sanskrit word *ritu* which corresponds to Pali *Utu* for 'season'. Kalidasa, a master of the poetic art who flourished about 500 CE, wrote a collection of sonnets on the attractive features of the six seasons under the title of *Ritu-samhara*. Similarly, Myanmar *Yadu* is believed to have been originally on seasons. Later, it had been extended to all kinds of 'occasional' poetry. Moreover, it is not improbable that Myanmar literati have also borrowed the idea of *kye-ze ratu* from Lakshmidasa's *Suka-sandesa* or parrot-message.

There are also the 'Dhammathat linka' by Shin Dhammapala in the reign of king Asankhya of Myinsaing. Furthermore in the reign of King Thihathu, the minister Satuyingabala sent three verses of questions to Pokkam abbot (Sutwinpyit Sayadaw) to which the abbot responded three verses in answer. This famous minister Satuyingabla wrote *Loka Niti*⁵⁹ treatise and many *Yadu* poems. *Yadus* composed by him were not about seasons or love but mainly concern with the teachings of Lord Buddha.⁶⁰

This period is the most troubled period of the Myanmar history. After the Chinese, there came the Shan. One inscription dated 1375 CE makes a comparison of the Shan ravages in Myanmar to that of the Cola attacks at Ceylon. It says:

"Just as in the Island of Ceylon where the Religion shone, (and where also) the heretics *Klan* had completely destroyed the land so that the Island of Ceylon could revive and the Religion shine again only through the blessings of Sakra, Brahma, and all the deva and through the effort done by the great king Dutthagamani who was the recipient of the prophecy that he would become the right hand disciple of Maitrya, on Jambudipa where the Religion shone bright, the country of Myanmar was also completely destroyed by the heretic Shan and yet through the might and wisdom of

⁵⁸ G.E. Harvey, 'History of Burma,' p. 78

⁵⁹ Ethical code of conduct.

⁶⁰ Pe Maung Tin, U. Myanmar sarpay thamaing (History of Burmese Literature). U Mya Thaug (01784) Khitayar publishing house, No. 122, 31st street Yangon, 1987. p. 48.

Siri Tiriphawa- naditdyapawara panita dhammaraja, who is powerful, majestic and shine like sun and moon, who is a great just king, the donor of the golden monastery and who has a great faith in the Religion, (also known as) the great king Tryaphya, Lord of the White Elephant, the grandson of the great just king Thihathu, Lord of the White Elephant who ruled over all Myanmar and Shan lands after conquering the 90,000 Khan soldiers, the heretic Shan were suppressed and the Religion shone again so that the monks, the Brahmans and the laity both men and women could observe restraint and charity and work for their own prosperity so that Innwa capital of the Myanmar land became as pleasant as the Tavatimsa (7 Feb 1375)."⁶¹

2.3 Innwa Period (1364-1555)

King Thado Minpya (1364-8), a grandson of Thihathu, one of the three Shan brothers, founded the city of Inwa and started the first Innwa dynasty. We still have a vast store of writings on stone in this period. He was a warrior king and in an inscription dated 1365, we have one reference to his coming back from war. It says:

"When the great king Thado returned from subduing *Saku*, he stopped at a *sima* of General *Asankhya* at a place called *Kukhan*. He was given one ox, one pig, and a total of 5 fowls, ten jars of liquor, ten pots of rice and ten pots of curry."⁶²

His reign was short and he died of small pox. The most remarkable event during the reign of Monyin Mintaya (1426-1439) was the shortening of the Sakarac by 798 and thus establishing the new era. Before the alteration, he was warned by the minister Yazathingyan that it would affect the king's life. But he said, "I must not hesitate to do it, if it is for the benefit of all beings. History will remember me as a king of no courage and if I must die, let me die. I will not be put into a song as the king who was afraid to do his duty."⁶³

"At the completion of Sakarac 800 (1438) the thing that the lineage of *Pukam nat mrat* had never thought of was discussed and debated at the meeting of the wise from all over *Mramma* country, well versed in *Pitaka* and *Veda*. After the discussion a

⁶¹ Than Tun. 'History of Burma: AD 1300-1400'. *Journal of Burma Research Society*, Volume 42, 1959. @ 1998- Myanmar Book Centre & Book Promotion & service Ltd, Bangkok, Thailand. p 130.

⁶² *Ibid.* p 128.

⁶³ *Hmannan Yazawin-daw-gyi (The Glass Palace Chronicle)*. Vol II: Mandalay Pitaka Book Depot, 1941. p 75.

big and spacious pavilion was put up on the open ground at the silver market on the right of the Palace, south of *Ava* and north of *Tonpilu*.

Thus, in the company of princes, princesses, royal grand-children, royal friends, royal relatives, nobles, knights and soldiers, monks, and Brahmins, after giving away *kanakkatan* – the white umbrella, gold, silver, precious gems, elephants, horses, slaves, land, buffaloes, bulls and cows, clothes and eatable, paddy, water and rice, nothing lacking, in great quantities, the king eliminated the notorious, difficult and extraordinary old era."⁶⁴

The king died shortly after making the alteration. Another intriguing fact is that the first account of travel in the country was recorded by a Venetian, Nicolo di Conti during this king's reign. Conti first reached the kingdom of Rakhine and from there, he proceeded up to Innwa in 1430 CE. He describes some customs characteristic of the people and two methods of trapping and taming wild elephants as practiced by them.

Myanmar literature greatly improved during this period and many genres of poetry had emerged, namely *pyo*⁶⁵, *mawgun*⁶⁶, *eigyin*⁶⁷, *yazawin*⁶⁸, *dhamathat*⁶⁹, *mittar sar*⁷⁰, didactic letters, *Igyins*⁷¹, *thon daun ain gyin*⁷², etc.

Of these genres, *Mawgun* are perhaps the oldest kind of Myanmar verse. The first *Mawgun* composed in verse form was '*Pyi Sone Mawgun*' by soldier-poet Shin Htwe Nyo (Sit-hlyin htaung hmu).

Another special type of cradle song for royal children or ballad was known as *eigyin*. They were written in verse form glorifying the military achievement of the ruling family to instill pride of family and race in the royal children. There are over 30 *eigyins* and a poem by Adu Min Nyo, a Rakhine courtier of the 15th century, known as "*Rakhine Princess Eigyin*" is the oldest extant example.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 75

⁶⁵ *poems based on the Jataka Tales.*

⁶⁶ *record of important events.*

⁶⁷ *a royal lullaby.*

⁶⁸ *chronicles.*

⁶⁹ *law books.*

⁷⁰ *letters of affection.*

⁷¹ *a kind of folk song.*

⁷² *song characterized by having three stanzas each ending in a different melodic phrase usually sung by paddy transplinters.*

The oldest known eigin in Myanmar proper is "Thakin-htwe Eigin" composed by soldier-poet Shin Thuye in 1476. Here is an extract as an example:

"In times long gone by, and in a distant country, Duttabaung, the great grandfather of your grandfather, by the power of Saka from the heavens above and of Naga and Garuda⁷³, enslaved all who dwell on earth, in water and in the sky. Men of this generation, who see it not, cherish the memory and repeat the story. But O how your father surpasses this! For him the lord of the Raksa, the celestial ogre, came gliding down with rushing roaring, and said, 'If you need help to fight, I am your Lordship's slave, bold and defiant.' Both spirits and men have seen this, and his renown reverberates with wondrous clamor far and wide over the entire face of the earth. And you little (princess) Htwe, great and noble blessing – sleep, softly, sleep."⁷⁴

(Translated by J. Okell)

Buddhist monks were also influential in developing Myanmar literature. The oldest extant chronicle "Maha Samata Wuntha Kyan"⁷⁵ was written in 1520 by a monk Shin Maha Thilawuntha (1453-1520), a great Myanmar poet and a learned Pali scholar.

He was also the author of *Paramidawgan* and *Sutaungan* pyos. His rival monk Shin Maha Rahtathara wrote famous *Buridat Linkagyi*, its sequel *Buridat Zatpaung* and *Ko-gan* or *Hatthipala Pyo*. The following is an example extracted from *Ko-gan* pyo;

"birth after birth, over and again, with dirt and besmirching, oppression and evil, fading and withering, longing and craving, crying and groaning, clutching and clinging, panting and grasping, sobbing and weeping, toil and weariness, all pervading, round and round like a spinning reel."⁷⁶

(Translated by J. Okell)

Works of Pyo type preponderated in this period. Pyo are verse rendering of Buddhist stories and teachings which transfer the Pali originals to a Myanmar setting

⁷³ mythical beasts.

⁷⁴ Shin Thuye, 'Thakhin Htwe Eigin', AD 1476, (Rangoon, 1900), p.13.

⁷⁵ a work on descendants of Mahasamata, the first king on earth.

⁷⁶ *Ko-gan pyo in Buddha's birth story No. 509 (Mandalay, 1923) p. 24.*

and make them more vivid by adding small imaginative details and homilies.⁷⁷ A pyo can have 200-300 stanzas. The oldest extant pyo was Lawkathara pyo composed between 1333 and 1343 by a Rakhine poet Shin Thu Mratt.

Shin Ottama Kyaw was famous for his tawla⁷⁸ of 9 stanzas that revealed in the natural beauty of the seasons, forest and travel. The names of Shin Uttama-gyaw, Shin Thila-wun-tha, Shin Maha-Ratta-thara and Wunzinminyaza, a learned minister to three successive kings in Innwa period, are exemplars in the history of Myanmar literature.

The other outstanding literary figures and their most important literature produced during that period are Shin Ohn Nyo (60 gatha pyo), Shin Kemar, Kandawmin-gyaung abbot (many mittersars and pyos), Shin Tezaw-thara (Shwe-Hintha-min pyo), Shin Aggathamahdi (Nemi Bongan pyo) and Shin Ein-da-gutta (Nawarat pyo).

There were also several women writers in the male-dominated court of Ava who excelled in poetry. Two of them, Mi Nyo and Mi Phyu, are celebrated for their poems on both secular and religious subjects.

Innwa fell under the Shan rule after the elephant-back duel between Shan Chief Thohanbwa, son of Mohnyin Sawbwa and Myanmar King Shwe-nan-kyawt-shin (1502-27). After Thohanbwa, two more Sawbwaws and one Myanmar king sat on the Innwa throne. The capture of Innwa in 1555 by King Bayintnaung marked the end of First Innwa period which lasted from 1287 to 1555.

2.4 Taungoo period (1510-1599)

In Myanmar era 641, King Thawungyi set up an independent rule of his own in Taungoo. When Innwa fell to the Shan in 1527 CE, many refugees including writers, monks, artists, ministers and administrators fled to Taungoo. Thus, the city of Taungoo flourished during the reign of King Mingyi Nyo, twenty ninth king of

⁷⁷ Hla Pe, U. *Burma: Literature, Historiography, Scholarship, Language, Life and Buddhism*. Institute

of Southeast Asian Studies, Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Pasir Panjang, Singapore 0511, © Institute of

Southeast Asian Studies, 1985.p 6.

⁷⁸ forest journey

Taungoo dynasty. After the death of King Mingyi Nyo, his son Tabin-shwe-hti succeeded him.

The intense rivalry between Siam and Myanmar began during this reign. The 1548 war waged by Tabin-shwe-hti was one of the greatest military operations in the history of Southeast Asia and set a precedent for Myanmar kings of later periods.⁷⁹ The successor of Tabin-shwe-hti, King Bayintnaung, invested Chiangmai in 1558 and 1564 and conquered Ayutthaya twice in 1563 and in 1569 CE. After the second conquest of Chiangmai, King Meku of Chiangmai was brought to Hanthawaddy. There he died by dysentery and became one of the 37 nats worshiped by Myanmar people. These conquests incorporated many Thai elements into Myanmar literature.

Similarly, Myanmar laws and institutions were introduced into Siam, two of which were adopted by the Thais and continued in use down to the Bangkok period, namely, the Myanmar Dhammathat and the Myanmar era. The Dhammathat or jurisprudence, which was based on the Indian Laws of Manu, was grafted on the laws of Siam. The Myanmar era which began in 638 CE became known in Siam as the Chula-Sakaraj or Little Era which displaced the Maha-Sakaraj or Great Era starting in 78 CE.⁸⁰ Poems composed during Taungoo period were ei-gyin, yadu, an-gyin,⁸¹ and tha-gyin,⁸² etc.

In his *Min Ye Kyawswa Soun* eigyin, Yaza Bahu (Commander of 3000 barges) gives some details of the second attack on Ayutthaya in 1568:

*"There were Myanmar soldiers all around Ayutthaya, some under cover and others on horses or elephants, some armed with bows and arrows. Others fired cannons into the city. Boats covered the Chao Phraya River. The king of Ayutthaya died while surrounded by the Myanmar soldiers. Maha chakkraphat died because he betrayed his lord. Just before this attack, Bayintnaung, using his miraculous powers, quelled the Chao Phraya River, which had risen as high as a palm tree."*⁸³

⁷⁹ Sunait Chutintaranond, 'Suriyothai in the context of Thai-Myanmar history and historical perception,' in *From Fact to Fiction*. Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, Thailand 2001. p. 31

⁸⁰ Rong Syamananda, 'A History of Thailand', Chulalongkorn University, Thai Watana Panich, Ltd, p 53.

⁸¹ song sang by royal raftmen.

⁸² melodious song about past events.

⁸³ Saw Tun. 'Chiangmai and Ayuddhaya in Myanmar Literature (1548-1614): The Myanmar Attitude Towards Ancient Thai Cities'. *Myanmar Historical Research Journal*. No 18-20, December 2000. p 88.

During Nanda Bayin's reign, he made five inroads into Siam but all failed. Court poet Min Zayyanamaik wrote a remarkable *Min Ye Naya eigyin* describing the failed campaign of Nanda Bayin;

*'When the Myanmar army retreated, the whole city of Ayutthaya marched out and gave chase on both land and water routes. The Myanmar army was totally routed. Some fled to the forests and others drowned in rivers running with blood. The men were too exhausted to mutter even a word, let alone fight back against the enemy.'*⁸⁴

Another fascinating eigyin was composed for the *Bayint-Hna-Ma-Daw*⁸⁵ by Pyi Nawadei in 1478. The recipient of the eigyin was the daughter to the second son of King Bayintnaung, Nawrahta Saw, king of Chiangmai. She had three brothers and the eigyin was so named when her eldest brother received the crown of Chiangmai. She was later married to the king of Siam. Thus, it is also called *Yodaya Queen Eigyin*.

Famous yadu writers of this period include Pyi Nawadei (1545-1600) who wrote over three hundred yadus and Natshinnaung (1578-1619), king of Taungoo.

In one of his Yadu poems, Nawadei describes the scene of Maha Chakkraphat, king of Ayutthaya, followed by his attendants, bowing down to the earth to offer four white elephants to Bayintnaung. He also paints a picture of Ayutthaya in words describing the river running through the south and middle of the city with temples, monasteries, caves and arches, decorated with amazing sculptures. He also depicts how clean and clear the river was running through the city to form a double curve, and how the canals irrigated from these rivers are full of water all the time. Over the rivers were built bridges from which pedestrians could view the various religious monuments.

The soldiers, on the other hand, had a different perspective on events. The weather was unfavorably cold. The overcast sky was tremendously depressing especially when they thought of their loved ones far away. Sometimes they were furious with the rain. Nawadei again shows his dissatisfaction with events by implying that the palace in Hanthawaddy is just as magnificent as that of Ayutthaya.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p 100.

⁸⁵ *sister of the king.*

The poet wonders whether Bayintnaung plans to colonize the whole world and leave behind Hanthawaddy, a city comparable to a heavenly mansion with its six royal halls.⁸⁶

To the Myanmar people, Natshinnaung was well remembered as a traitor against his own country as well as one of the most brilliant poets of all times. He was the author of many yadus, 20 sapyaings, 35 verses on the rain *mo-taing*, 12 kye-se verses, 3 peinhnyin-hngetme-yadu 'Odes to the kingfisher', and 3 egyins. The history of Myanmar classic literature would not be complete if we left out some of his works. The following is the excerpt from one of his romantic lyrics in admiration of his suitor:

"Should even Sakka, king of Gods, seeking her peer in the Second Heaven, set beside her one chosen to compete, then would people say that my mistress shines like the bright moon beside a little star. In trying to tell of her glowing brown smooth beauty, her fresh tender grace, her pure nature, he who sees her becomes bewildered and dizzy; he gropes for words, and tries to speak but cannot describe her. Again and again I gaze on her loveliness, surpassing all rivals, and wherever I look I only have eyes for her face."⁸⁷

(Translated by J. Okell)

Relatively few poets emerged in the Taungoo period because it was a time of fighting both internally and externally. Other literati of this period include Hlawgathon-daung-mu⁸⁸, Min Zayayanamaik⁸⁹, Shin Htwenathein, Zimme-bayin Nawrahtasaw, Zimme Mibaya, Yaza Dattukalyar, Minister Banya Dala who wrote Razadirit Ayedawbon treatise, etc. Hanthawaddy Hsinphy-myashin Ayedawbon was also written by court minister Yazataman (Oke-tha-raw) during this period.

Nanda bayin's inability to subdue Ayutthaya led to the downfall of his empire. Instead of helping him, subordinate kings of major towns turned against him. In 1599, Hanthawaddy was burned down by Rakhine and Taungoo and Nanda bayin was

⁸⁶ Saw Tun, U. "Chiangmai and Ayuddhaya in Myanmar Literature (1548-1614): The Myanmar Attitude Towards Ancient Thai Cities", *Views and Visions, Part I, Proceedings of the Views and Visions Conference, 18-20 Myanmar Historical Research Centre, Yangon, 2001*, p 92.

⁸⁷ Prince Nat Shin Naung. *16-17 centuries, Taung Ngu Min Hso Yadu. Rangon, 1920.* p 5-6.

⁸⁸ *Commander of 3000 boats.*

⁸⁹ *son of Hlawga -thondaung-mu.*

carried off to Taungoo. The Siamese arrived belatedly and went after Taungoo but had to return to Ayutthaya.

2.5 Nyaung Yan period (1599-1752)

Restored Taungoo period

Anticipating Hanthawaddy's impending doom the lord of Nyaung Yan, one of the sons of King Bayintnaung, had moved on the city of Innwa a few years earlier in 1597, took it and subsequently made his capital.⁹⁰ He established the dynasty after Hanthawadi was destroyed by Rakhine and Taungoo. Western scholars named the dynasty he founded as the restored Taungoo dynasty.

Myanmar literature continued to flourish and a new kind of Myanmar poetry, Luda emerged during the Nyaung Yan period. Luda is a kind of lyric poem linked by beginning a stanza with the first part of the last line of the preceding stanza. U Aung Gyi wrote his famous 'Innwa's seasonal Luda'.

The famous writers of this time were Taungphila abbot (Vessantara-pyo), Shin Karavika (Minhla-Yinnu-pyo), Court Ministers Padethayaza (the arrival of Siamese envoy mawgun), Shin Than Kho⁹¹ (Minye Deippa eigyin), king Maha-dhama-dipatiyaza,⁹² etc. The Jatatawbon, one of the most reliable treatises on the horoscopes (therefore dates) of Myanmar's earliest kings, is attributed to King Minye Kyawdin's reign.

Padethayaza's 'Maniket Zattawgyi', a Jataka play about a flying horse with a ruby eye, is considered to have been a new form in Burmese literature which was based on one of the stories of the Zimme Pannasa, the Fifty Jataka Tales of Chiangmai.

He also wrote classical songs, concerned mainly with praises of his king, but also a quite different genre called tyagyin (bucolic song). These are short songs written not for the king and court but for ordinary folk. One called the 'Toddy climber' tyagyin, is as follows:

In the beginning of the hot weather, when the haze rises,
With his ladder and inseparable pot,

⁹⁰ Michael Aung Thwin and Mairii Aung Thwin, 'A History of Myanmar since Ancient Times: Traditions and Transformations,' Reaktion Books Ltd. London, UK, 2012, p.143.

⁹¹ grandson of Hlawga-thondaung-mu.

⁹² the king who was taken by the Mon to Hanthawaddy.

His sharp knife stuck in his waist,
 To the toddy buds and palm branches luxuriantly sprouting,
 With his seat slung from his shoulder he climbs.
 Palm stalks and spreading palm leaves
 He cuts and notches a main to win the first fresh toddy juice.
 His loving wife collects the toddy juice.
 He shouts and cries to his sons and grandsons and calls to the dogs and pigs
 And behold! a hare-net corded with toddy-fibre.
 The noise of calling resounds: men are clamorous;
 Dogs yelp; men yell; they strike and beat.
 Chameleon, hare, partridge – all that are in the bushes –
 Quail, fowl, iguana, snake,
 Wolves too straight way come out.
 With joyous zest the wife
 Gets a mixed load of curry leaves good and indifferent
 The husband's concern is the hares and such other
 Creatures of the wild as he encounters;
 He takes and puts them in his sack.
 And so returning and having rested a little,
 They do their roasting at the jaggery fire on sharp spits.
 When the curry-pot boils they put in the roast
 And stir the pot, and cook it in water.
 They have too Mo-hmyaw (sky-gazing) chilies.
 When all is set on the large wicker tray,
 Daughters and sons, so many there is scarce room,
 Push and thrust with only one knee – there's not space for both –
 Vying with each other and determined to eat.
 They fall to in fine style plying the coconut dipper.
 Each with bent head takes handfuls and gobbles.
 When they have finished there's no washing up –
 They leave what remains to the dogs.⁹³

As wars with Siam continued from the 16th to 19th century, many poems about Chiangmai and Ayutthaya are found as eigyins, yadus and igyins. Igyins was a kind of folk song as opposed to literary poems written by courtiers such as eigyins and yadus. Many igyins have no recognized names as they were composed by rural people.

One igyin says: when the royal order came to conscript the army to invest Siam, many villagers who were afraid of hardships ran into forests and mountains to evade the king's decree. But some youths were exceptionally eager and overzealous to take part in the war. The lovers of these youths had doubts on whether their partners wanted to meet with the fair and lovely maidens residing in Chiangmai and Ayutthaya. So the girls demanded to know the motive behind their lovers' enthusiasm

⁹³ *Hla Pe, Burma, p. 12-13.*

to serve in the royal army. In responding to these questions, the youths simply put all the blame on the king's decree.⁹⁴

In his *Min Ye Deibba Eigyin*, poet Shin Than Kho wrote about King Anaukphetlun's battle with the Myanmar governor in Chiangmai. While camped at Martaban, a city in Lower Myanmar, Anaukphetlun came to hear that there was disunity among the Myanmar descendants administering Chiangmai. Like Bayintnaung before him, Anaukphetlun also had to make a difficult march over the mountains and rivers separating Myanmar territories from Chiangmai. En route, he captured the city of Lagun⁹⁵ whose defenses were as hard as steel and rock. He defeated Thado Kyaw, the Myanmar administrator of Chiangmai, and assigned the governorship to Bannya Nan, a native minister of the region. Shin Than Kho ends his poem with a portrayal of the handover of the administration of Chiangmai to one of its natives.⁹⁶

The first full scale Myanmar Yazawin or Chronicle, *Maha Yazawingyi*, was written by U Kala during the reign of Tanninganwe min (1714-1733). It was a valuable bequest to posterity. Victor Lieberman writes that 'Rarely has a national historiographic tradition depended so heavily on a single author as the Burmese tradition has on U Kala.'⁹⁷

One maid of honor, Yaweshinhtwe, wrote an angyin poem on the various fashions of hair-dressing in vogue among maids of honor during the reign of the 55 kings of Bagan.

The last forty years between Nyaung Yan and Konboun period were the most turbulent and chaotic years in the history of Myanmar. With the Mon victory of 1751 things began to take a depressing turn. Almost all literary works of Innwa were destroyed or lost.

⁹⁴ Saw Tun, U. "Chiangmai and Ayudhdhaya in Myanmar Literature (1548-1614): The Myanmar Attitude Towards Ancient Thai Cities", *Views and Visions, Part I, Proceedings of the Views and Visions Conference, 18-20 Myanmar Historical Research Centre, Yangon, 2001*, p 92.

⁹⁵ Lakhon.

⁹⁶ Saw Tun, U. 'Chiangmai and Ayudhdhaya in Myanmar Literature (1548-1614)', p 86.

⁹⁷ Victor Lieberman, 'How Reliable is U Kala's Burmese Chronicle?', *Vol. XvII, No.2, Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, September 1986, p. 236.

2.6 Konboun period (1752-1885)

The rise of King Alaungpaya marks the dawn of a distinctive epoch in the political as well as literary history of the country. This era has been dubbed the "Golden Age of Literature". This period can be divided into two: the first Konboun period started from King Alaungpaya and the second konboun period from King Bodawpaya to King Thibaw.

2.6.1 The First Konboun period

It is worth noting that the three very fine laureates, U Aw⁹⁸, U Myat San⁹⁹ and U Myat Thar or U Nay¹⁰⁰ came to the forefront at the Myanmar court: all were in the service of the last king of Innwa; all received royal recognition in the days of Alaungpaya and his successors; all produced works which take permanent rank as literature.

Seinda Kyawthu U Aw's chief works are *Kawi Letkana Dipani*, *Aw-wada-htu pyo* and *Minzet linka*¹⁰¹. Others are song in praise of Yadana Theinga Tank, Luda on Alaungpaya's march to Siam, Einshe Mibaya Egyin, Pindale Mintha Egyin and Tawla Yadu.

Letwe Nawrahta's contribution to Myanmar literature and history were varied and enormous. His work of *Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon*, *Yodayar Naing*¹⁰² *Mawgun*, *Dhanyawadi Naing*¹⁰³ *Mawgun* and *Myanmar Than-yaw-ga Dipani*¹⁰⁴ became classic in Myanmar literature. He also wrote four *hlyauk htones*¹⁰⁵ and one *ameidaw phyay kyan*¹⁰⁶ and many Yadu poems.

Letwe Thondra's great works include two yadus called *Meza Taung Che*¹⁰⁷ and *Wei-Shu'n-San-da*. At one time, he incurred King Hsinphyushin's displeasure. He was banished to the far flung Meza region in Katha district. While in Meza, he wrote these

⁹⁸ Seinda Kyawthu.

⁹⁹ Letwe Thondra.

¹⁰⁰ Letwe Nawrahta.

¹⁰¹ Epigram on dynastic history.

¹⁰² Victory over Siam.

¹⁰³ Victory over Rakhine.

¹⁰⁴ a work on orthography.

¹⁰⁵ a compilation of learned discourses or memorable sayings presented to the king by scholars or ministers.

¹⁰⁶ a compilation of questions and problems posed by the king, or learned ministers, with answers given by venerable monks or eminent scholars.

¹⁰⁷ at the foot of the Meza hill.

two yadus. On hearing the yadus, the king immediately recalled him. Lewe Thondra's yadus were judged to be of literary merit in the history of Myanmar:

Wei-shu'n Sanda

My face turned to the moon,
That haven of serene content,
I am filled with longing.
I yearn with all my heart
To be at the golden palace
Whence victory is borne through the world.
Here life holds no joy.

For there are other plains,
Strange woods, an alien soil;
To this too far distant place
I little thought to come.
I only heard tell before of
The extremes of our golden land,
But I knew not with any certainty
Whereabouts they lay.

Now in this wooded wilderness,
In nature quite unlike our homeland-
The very hub of the world-
I have come to know
Their unfamiliar warmth and cold.

But there at the heart of Ratanasingha,
Conquering city,
The palace and the sun may not be told apart-
They shine as one.
For the light of precious stones,
Shining from the golden palace spire with all Nine Jewels,
Must be mingling now
With the beams of the bright revolving sun.¹⁰⁸

In his reign, King Alaungpaya authorized the compilation of a new Myanmar-language version of the *Manu Kye Dhammathat*, including a summary of basic principles of customary law.¹⁰⁹ The *Manu* code included provisions governing marriage relations, inheritance, debts, and so on, as well as the principles of government and kingship.¹¹⁰

Other literati and their major works are Shwetaung Thihathu (Yadana Kyaymon wutthu), Shwetaung Nadathu (Mwenun yagan), U Hpyaw (Paleiksa egyin), Mibaya Shinmin of King Singu (many yadu, teidat, Dwaygyo and lehsit poems),

¹⁰⁸ Hla Pe, *JBRs*, LIX, I & ii, Dec., 1976, p. 27.

¹⁰⁹ Maung Maung, *Burma in the Family of Nations* (Amsterdam, 1956), pp. 13-15.

¹¹⁰ D. Mackenzie Brown, *The White Umbrella: Indian Political Thought from Manu to Gandhi* (Berkeley, 1953), p. 26.

Shwetaung Nandameit (Ummadani pyo/Medaw Maya pyo/ Kutha pyo), Atula/ Taungdwin abbot or Khingyi Hpyaw (commentary on the Paramidawgan pyo and 'Answers to the questions raised by Min Letwe Nawrahta'), etc.

After the second conquest of Ayutthaya, many spoils of war including literary works of Siam were brought to the Myanmar court. It resulted in the dawning of Myanmar drama. It was so popular that a new minister was appointed to keep track of the whole new development.

The puppet show, inspired by Siam, became celebrated. It was in 1776, during the reign of Singu Min, that an officer in charge of performing arts, U Thaw, was commissioned by the king to create a new art form. He then decided to have 28 marionettes for the troupe. According to the Buddhist analysis, the physical body of a living being is a component of 28 material phenomena. U Thaw's creation of the marionette troupe was based on the Buddha's teachings. The 28 marionettes were:

Ritual dancers	2
Horse	1
Elephants (one white and one black)	2
Tiger	1
Monkey	1
Parakeet	1
Dragon	1
Ogres	2
Zawgyi (alchemist)	1
Ministers	4
King	1
Prince	1
Princess	1
Elder Prince	2
Brahman	1
Hermit	1
Celestials	2
Old woman	1
Clowns	2 ¹¹¹

Before the play begins, some of these marionettes such as horse, elephant, monkey, ogre, zawgyi come out one by one, and each gives a special dance of its own. It should be noted that the Myanmar had no puppet drama. In India and in many

¹¹¹ *Khin Myo Chit, Daw. Colourful Myanmar. Telan Sarpay, 967 Padetha Street, Insein, 1995, p. 255.*

Southeast Asian countries, there was an actual puppet drama, but in Myanmar the puppet show was entirely dependent for its plays on the drama of living actors. Likewise, Myanmar puppets are worked by strings and unlike India and other countries of Indo-China, a shadow show of any sort has never been known to the Myanmar.¹¹²

Ramayana was one of the most popular dramatic performances at the Myanmar court. It was first presented at the court of King Hsinphyushin (1763-1776) and became so popular. One extraordinary event is that during the reign of King Singu (1776-1782) the King quietly slip down from the *thin zali*¹¹³ at the palace theatre and don a mask of a demon, or a monkey to join in the dance, causing some embarrassment to the queens and ministers.¹¹⁴

J.A. Stewart, an eminent British administrator and scholar wrote that the Ramayana continued to be performed in the Siamese language for some years (after the fall of Ayutthaya), but that before the end of the 18th century, Burmese adaption of it were made.¹¹⁵ The Thai dancers and musicians were later formed into the Yodaya zat-taw-gyi dance and drama troupe and there were 91 artistes at the time of King Thibaw, the last king of Konboun dynasty.¹¹⁶

2.6.2 The second Konboun period

King Bodawpaya (1782-1819) was the longest reigning monarch in Myanmar history. He ruled the country for 36 years. During this era, a court minister Twin-Thin-Taik-Wun Maha-Sithu was assigned to inspect stone inscriptions to draw clear lines of demarcation between glebe and taxable lands. Having easy access to all stone inscriptions, he wrote Yazawin-thit with the sanction of the King. He also wrote Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon, pyos, luda, yadu and mawguns.

Buddhist Monks remained powerful in Myanmar literature in Bodawpaya's reign: Kyigan Shingyi or Nandadhaza (Sattovadi-kammattana 13 gatha/ Sweson-kyawhtin kyan), Shin Ukkam-Samala (many miitarsars), U Ohbatha or Minbu abbot

¹¹² Htin Aung, Maung, 'Burmese Drama', Oxford University Press, p. 18.

¹¹³ Ornamented royal chair

¹¹⁴ Singer, Noel F. *The Ramayana at the Burmese Court ... 1989, p. 92*

¹¹⁵ Stewart, J.A. 'Burmese stage', *The Chinthe, Vol.1, no.1 (Apr.1951) p.17*

¹¹⁶ *Shwe Nanthon Warhara Abidan, Vol 1, section 174, Yodaya Zat Taw Gyi Ahmudan.*

(a series of prose works on 8 out of the last 10 birth-stories of the Buddha), Shin Adeissayanthi or Monywa abbot [Narada pyo/ Yazawada kyan/ Yazawin Than bauk (historical epigram)].

Outstanding lay poets are Maung Ya (Minnan pyo and many e:), Me' Hkwe [a double egyin on the twelve months of the year/ many ngo-gyin (weeping song) and Kyeseh-payadaing-yadu], U Aung Phyoo (Yazawin tha-gyin/ Minzet tha-gyin), Maung Yauk-gyi or Maha Thiha Thura (Udaung-min pyo/ Pyidawwin pyo), Wetmasut Nawade [Assam-naing Mawgun, Tayok-than-yauk (on the arrival of ambassadors from China) Mawgun and many yadus], Pahkan Mintha (Aung-Myay-Tha-San patpyo).

Thai artistes who were brought back after the fall of Ayutthaya in 1767 gave an impetus for a renaissance of Myanmar culture. Siamese plays were translated, improved, and acted out by Myanmar artisans. Siamese songs were burmanized and there are now over (35) Yodaya songs in the official collection of Myanmar classical songs.¹¹⁷

2.6.2.1 Drama

Though prose and poetry had assumed definite forms by about the 14th or early 15th century, the drama was unknown until very much later. The first real Myanmar drama appeared only towards the close of the 18th century.

Dr. Hla Pe, retired Professor of Myanmar language and literature at the University of London says:

"Drama, like the Yagan, seems to have come from the cultural contact with Thailand. The romances and plays which were brought thence to Burma in 1767 increased the interest of the court in secular literature. The earliest plays were 'within-the palace' plays, probably named after the Thai *Lakon nai*, which has a similar meaning. These were followed by court dramas or stage plays, written primarily to be performed before the king or provincial governors. Most of the plays were taken from

¹¹⁷ *Maha Gita Baung Choke, Maha Gita Various editions. See Culture Ministry ed. 3 vols, in one, 1997. Section on Yodaya Songs, p.75-94*

Jataka stories. The plays were written for the most part in free flowing rhymed prose or mixed style, which is an ideal medium for declaiming."¹¹⁸

2.6.2.2 *Maniket*

Maniket, supposed to be the earliest fully developed play in Myanmar, is attributed to Minister Padetha Yazar (1683-1754) who composed a number of pyo lyrical poems based on Jataka. It has a strong Thai connection because the author based his text on the Sattadhanu Jataka (no.20) of the Zimme Pannasa¹¹⁹, a non canonical text.

U Pe Maung Tin, the eminent scholar of Myanmar literature, thought that since the text was quite a lengthy one, it was written only to be read.¹²⁰ However, another scholar Hla Thamein wrote that the play was written to be performed because many zat-chin¹²¹ are found to be used in performing the drama, together with the stage directions.

2.6.2.3 *Enaung*

When the Siamese play 'Aindawun' (Aindawuntha) was introduced to the Myanmar court, Myawadi U Sa coined the term 'Nan-dwin Zat' or 'Within the Palace Drama', for the play had nothing to do with the Jatakas, and a new name was needed. The Ayutthaya version was composed in the reign of King Boromakot.

Another version 'Prince Inao' was composed during the reign of King Rama II. The hero of the play had two names; the official title Aindawun given by the king of the gods, and the palace name of Enaung.¹²² Both the Siamese and the Myanmar translator called it Enaung. The play was known as Eeao in Cambodia.

¹¹⁸ Hla Pe, U. *Burma: Literature, Historiography, Scholarship, Language, Life and Buddhism*, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Pasir Panjang, Singapore 0511, © Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985.p 16.

¹¹⁹ Pannasa Jataka or Zimme' Pannasa, in the Myanmar recension; vol 1. edited by Padmanabh S. Jaini London: Pali Text Society, 1981, p. 228-255.

¹²⁰ Pe Maung Tin, U. *Myanmar sarpay thamaing History of Burmese Literature*, p. 151.

¹²¹ lyrics written for an episode in drama

¹²² Htin Aung, Maung (Dr. Htin Aung). *Burmese Drama: A Study, with Translations of Burmese plays*. Oxford University press, Amen House, London, E.C. 4, first published 1937, Fourth impression

U Sa did not use all the material he got from the Thai model. He discarded the heroic adventures of Enaung and related only the amorous episodes all taking place within the palace.

There were two famous imitators of U Sa's Enaung; court dramas written by a Queen poetess Ma Mya Gale (1809-1845) and her daughter the Princess of Hlaing (1833-1875). Ma Mya Gale called her play 'Aindawuntha' and the Princess of Hlaing used the original Thai name 'Aindawun'. She also wrote another play in the same tradition and called it 'Wizaya-kari'. Of these three Dramas, the works of Princess Hlaing are much longer, with finer characterization.¹²³

Dr. Htin Aung pointed out the seminal role that U Sa's Enaung played in the development of Myanmar dramatic writing:

"Enaung taught the Court to break away from the Siamese tradition and to develop a native drama with borrowings from and imitations of the Siamese court drama. Because many of the incidents in the play were invented by the author and not borrowed from the original Siamese court romance, it pointed out the possibilities of an invented story as the subject of a play. In short, Myawaddi paved the way for the coming of U Kyin U and U Pon Nya."¹²⁴

2.6.2.4. *Ramayana*

*"In me, O fairest dame, behold,
The brother of the King of Gold,
The Lord of Ten Necks my title, named
Ravan, for might and valour famed.
Gods and Gandharva hosts I scare;
Snakes, spirits, birds that roam the air
Fly from my coming, wild with fear,
Trembling like men when Death is near."*

Such were the words the Demon announced himself to Princess Sita, while showing his true forms in Ramayana play of Valmiki.

There are three forms of Rama in Myanmar;

- (1) Original Rama (Vishnu) Rama or Pashu Yama since Bagan period,
- (2) Alaungdaw Yama or the Bodhisat Rama from Jataka no. 461, the Datta-ya-hata (Dasaratha) Jataka, and

1957. p36.

¹²³ Thaw Kaung, U. " Myanmar Dramatic Literature-its Rise and Decline", In *Aspect of Myanmar History and Culture*, Loka Ahlinn Publishing House, Yangon, 2010. p 261.

¹²⁴ Maung Htin Aung. *Burmese Drama*. Humphrey Mitford, 1937. p38.

- (3) Pondaw Yama or the Nan dwin Yama received from Ayutthaya and Linzin from about the 16th century.¹²⁵

The earliest Ramayana literary work in prose work is the Yama Wuthtu from the 17th century by unknown writer whereas the first Myanmar dated literary works of the Ramayana is the Yama Tha-gyin by U Aung Phyoo written in 1775. They were followed by Yama Yagan composed by U Toe, great master of the Yagan, in 1784. Yagan is a kind of satirical poem. The following is the passage from the famous Yama Yagan by U Toe:

"There are some women nowadays who some way or another posing as scholars, as authors, as servants, talking of 'Her works' and 'My works', put in the north what come from the south, put on the right what come from the left to get the rhyme right and move the bow's cargo to the stern, with their innuendoes and condemnations, with their loud-mouthed gabble, what a frighteningly learned lot they are not quite clever, and not quite skilled. But still, it's woman's nature to swank; they swank because they're women, so let them swank. We won't take offence. Ladies, dames, maids and virgins .. one is bound to spare such a collection of gems, so we'll just have to spare them.

But the bullock-cart drivers the lowest of the low ... who, when they've slipped the yoke off their panting bullocks, take pad and pencil in hand and keep on producing their Kelasa yagans, Manoha yagans, Me Sita yagans ... none fit for the court they're not only pretentious, but with their boasting and swanking, their lauding and praising, they're like a cross between a bullock and a buffalo is it an ear or a horn? a crow or a crow-pheasant? teeth or palate? ... when you step down on one end the other see- saws up ... they really should head the list of assorted lunatics."¹²⁶

(translated by J. Okell)

¹²⁵ Thaw Kaung, 'Aspect of Myanmar History and Culture,' Loka Ahlinn Publishing House, Yangon, 2010, p 191.

¹²⁶ Toe, U. 'AD 1751-96, Yama Yagan. Rangoon. 1933. Vol 1. p. 5.

The Myanmar fully developed dramatic version, Yama-zat-taw-gyi written around 1849 by the commission of eight has some connections not only with Valmiki, but also with the Thai Ramakien.

When the Thai Prince, H.R.H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab of Thailand visited Myanmar in 1936 he was entertained with a Ramayana performance in Pyi (Prome) by the great Myanmar dancer U Po Sein and his troupe. The Prince wrote that

"In the third act Maung Po Sein took the role of Lord Rama in an excerpt from the Ramayana. He carried a bow and was followed by male attendants. Only Maung Po Sein danced, extending his arms with a graceful bearing as he walked, swaying to the rhythm of the orchestra. I perceived that the theatrical style was Thai, because it was slower than and not so sprightly as the Burmese style. The curtain was then drawn forward, ending the portion performed for our benefit."¹²⁷

2.6.2.5. Other Yodaya plays

By the order of the Crown Prince Thado Minsaw in King Bodawpaya's reign, an eight member commission was formed to translate the stories and plays brought back from Ayutthaya and Chiangmai over the previous two decades. The members of the Commission were:

Writers of Music and Songs

- (1) Lady Thakin Minmi, ex-queen of King Singu (1776-1782)
- (2) Lord of Pyinsi town, the Prince Commander of the Royal Cavalry
- (3) U Kyi Soe (Maha Nanda Yodha), Lord of Maletha village and Ngetoe
- (4) U Sa, Lord of Myawady, a famous soldier, musician and poet

Writers of Dialogues and Poems

- (5) Prince Minye Nanda Meit, Lord of Mekkhara town
- (6) Nemyo Kyaw Swa, Lord of Moda town
- (7) U Toe, author of Yama Yagan
- (8) Prince Thado Dhama Raza, Lord of Taungoo 128

¹²⁷ Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince. *Journey Through Burma in 1936*, Bangkok: River Books, 1991, p. 206

¹²⁸ Pe Maung Tin, U, "The Story of how the Ramayana came to Burma", *The Working People's Daily*,

The Myanmar Commission worked with Thai nobility and artistes and travelled to Thailand, Cambodia, Java and Laos in 1785 to collect material for their translations as well as to study music, songs and dances.¹²⁹ The four plays translated by the Commission complete with songs, plots, dialogues and scenes were Enaung, Ramayana, Sankhapatta and Kesasiri.¹³⁰

Myanmar continued to adapt Thai verses and created new classical verses called Teidat (a three section song), Legyo (four stanza verses), Dwaygyo (poems consisting of two stanza), Patpyo (Myanmar classical song set to the cadence of the drum circle and bawle– plaintive song).

Teidat is a mixture of Myanmar and Siamese melodies. Princess Hlaing hteik khaung tin by composing enchanting songs, won back her consort who had diverted his attention to other court ladies. She gave vent to her grief tinged with resentment in many of her poems:

Tei-dat

Silver drops of pearly tears
Are on these charming lotus-eyelids.
On my royal couch of nine gems,
In the shade of the lily-chamber in the golden palace

I close my eyes but cannot sleep.
I languish for my golden lord.
At the towering crystal palace, the crown
Of the central city of the world,
In which chamber can you be disporting yourself!
For you, O diadem of the palace maidens,
Hoping that you may come,
Secretly I again wait in expectation.
Whilst I yearn for you in my chamber
The cocks have crowed in unison
And the golden gong has struck;
For, see, it is almost dawn.
O crystal-ornament of all Jambudipa
How lingering is your coming!¹³¹

In 1785, Rakhine was incorporated into Myanmar by King Bodawpaya. A Rakhine abbot whose religious title was Kawitharabi Thiri-pawa Egga Maha Dharm-

Sunday Supplement (14 Mar. 1965). no page no.

¹²⁹ Singer, Noel F. *Burmese Dance and Theatre ...1995*, p. 13.

¹³⁰ Pe Maung Tin, U. *Cultural Activities in Konboun Period. Pt. one.*

¹³¹ Hla Pe: 'Dawn Songs' BSOAS, XX, 1957: 348

razadi-razagura wrote *Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon Kyan* three years after the fall of Mauk U, the capital of Rakhine Kingdom.

When King Bagyidaw ascended the throne, he ordered the formation of a royal historical commission of thirteen learned scholars to compile an official record of events. This chronicle is called *Hmannan Yazawindawgyi* or the 'Glass Palace Chronicle'. The directive of King Bagyidaw is described thus:

*"The king of the Law seeing many discrepancies and repetitions in the former chronicles gave thought to the matter. Being convinced that a chronicle of kings should be the standard, a balance, so to speak, for all duties of the king, for all affairs of the state, for all matters of religion, and not a thing full of conflicting and false statements, he assembled his ministers and ecclesiastical teachers in the front chamber of the palace, which was variegated with diverse gems and a fit place for the most exalted personages, and caused the chronicle to be purified by comparing it with other chronicles and a number of inscriptions each with the other, and adopting the truth in the light of reason and traditional books."*¹³²

While the process of compiling the Glass Palace Chronicle was underway, the consulting editor of the royal historical commission, the second abbot of Monywa, was in disagreement with the other members of the commission over the recording and interpretation of some place names, events, and dates. After completion of *Hmannan Yazawin*, he wrote another version of his own called *Maha Yazawin-kyaw*.

Another school of writers sprang up during Bagyidaw and Mindon's reigns: Myawadi U Sa (numerous work on yadu, legyo, patpyo, classical songs), U Min *the layman* (legyo/love song-me'bwe/ maungbwe), U Min *hpothudaw* (Iwan gyin-sentiment poem or song of longing, lehsit thahpjan- kind of legyo verse which can be sung to music), U Shu'n or Maha Minhla Mingaung Kyaw (Ummadani pyo), U Kyin U (Deva gonban, Papahein and many dramas, nji gyin (plaintive song), zat-gyin (lyrics written for an episode in drama), U Shwe Chi *Minhla-Yaza-Kyawhtin* (Sanda keinnari pyo), Tayathugyi Maung E, U Lan (some paikson-yadu dealing with Yama, King of Hell, Tahe the ghost).

By the order of King Mindon (1853-1878), a group of scholars was formed to record events from the official visit of a Myanmar religious mission to Bodh Gaya,

¹³² *The Glass Palace Chronicle*, p. ix.

India during the reign of King Bagyidaw until King Mindon's accession to the throne in 1854. It was called *Zeita-wun Yazawin* or *the second Maha Yazawindawgyi*.

Another court bard U Pon Nya established himself as a great writer through his various literary works. His masterpieces were Chadan elephant king, Yethe (water seller), Vesantra and Wizaya stage plays. He was also one of the founders of Myanmar drama after Myawaddi Mingyi U Sa and U Kyin U. U Pon Nya was a humorist-satirist and excelled in burlesque. In his first play 'Paduma', he gave an admonition to those ladies of the court who were indulging in romantic intrigues with courtiers. In one scene, the Princess declares her passion for the limbless criminal with unblushing phallic frankness:

"With the legs and arms cut off, with the body made beautiful by being turned into a stump, beautiful as a cockroach, short and sweet, whose beauty seems to increase with every look, my lord and lover Stumpy, whom I carry on my back! My luck must be really good to meet such a charming and respectable person as you. Do not hate me, lord, do not be cruel to this body as lovely as a jasmine-bud. I long for you every moment, and I desire to love you as my husband. My lord Stumpy, with the body of gold, I have serious intentions; love, and please accept my proposal."¹³³

The last batch of renown Myanmar literary luminaries under the patronage of King Mindon and King Thibaw were Yaw Mingyi U Po Hlaing (Rajathingaha kyan), Kinwon Mingyi (many dhamathats/ Nemi yagan/ travelogues), U Yan or Maha Thiri Zeyathu (Pitakat Thamaing or History of Myanmar Literature), Agga-maha-panita Manle' abbot (Maha-thuta-kari linka), Agga-maha-panita Le'ti abbot (over 50 treatises/ cow mittarsa).

Myanmar lost Assam, Manipur, Rakhine and Tenasserim to the British in 1826. The rest of Lower Myanmar fell into British hands in 1852. On 1 January 1886, the whole country was proclaimed a province of the Indian Empire as a special new year present for Queen Victoria, Empress of India. Lord Randolph Churchill, the father of Winston Churchill, who was then the Secretary of State for India issued the famous one sentence Annexation Proclamation signed by Lord Dufferin, Viceroy and Governor-General of India:

¹³³ Htin Aung, *Maung. Burmese Drama*. p. 220.

*"By command of the Queen Empress it is hereby notified that the territories formerly governed by King Theebaw will no longer be under his rule, but have become part of Her Majesty's dominions, and will during Her Majesty's pleasure be administered by such officers as the Viceroy and Governor-General of India may from time to time appoint."*¹³⁴

The abbot of Zibani monastery wrote the following lines when the last Myanmar king Thibaw was taken by the British to Ratnagiri in India:

No more the Royal Umbrella
 No more the Royal Palace,
 And the Royal City, no more
 This is indeed an Age of Nothingness
 It would be better if we were dead

2.7 Conclusion

Myanmar literature was first influenced by Indian and later Thai cultures, as seen in many works. Myanmar people adapted these foreign elements to fit in with their tradition and culture. The Indian influence on Myanmar literature need not elaborating but for the Thai culture, it is paradoxical. Dr. Ba Han, the learned lexicographer, wrote in the Journal of the Burma Research Society:

*"The wind of change in regard to both the matter and manner of dramatic performance came from Siam, now Thailand. In the irony of things Siam whose relations with Burma were punctuated by recurring wars exercised a paramount influence on the growth of the Burmese Drama. Burma attacked Ayuthia, the then Siamese capital no less than six times. Yet the aftermath of each war was a cultural gain to Burma to a greater or less degree."*¹³⁵

During the British colonial period, Myanmar literature went into eclipse. In 1905, U Maung Maung Tin (1) wrote the chronicle called *Konbounset Maha Yazawindawgyi* which covers from King Alaungpaya to the last king Thibaw. Some historians alleged that U Maung Maung Tin actually wrote only 256 pages of his famous work because he not only incorporated in it the *Hmannan Yazawindawgyi* and

¹³⁴ Hla Thein, 'Anglo-Myanmar relations during the reign of Thibaw, Part.3', *Myanmar Historical Research Journal*, No.12, December 2003. p.62.

¹³⁵ Ba Han, Dr, "The evolution of Burmese dramatic performances and festival occasions," *JBR*, vol. 49, pt.1 (June 1966) p.8.

King Mindon's *Second Maha Yazawindawgyi* but also summarized many parts of 'Hmannan Dutiya Yazawindawpaya'¹³⁶ written during King Thibaw's reign.



¹³⁶ *Second Glass Palace Yazawindawpaya.*

CHAPTER III: AYEDAWBON TREATISES

3.1 Introduction

Owing to rivalry over control of the lower part of Myanmar including Tenasserim and the wars of territorial expansion, long conflicts between Myanmar and Siam ensued for more than four hundred years from the 16th to 19th century. In spite of the fact that the history of the two countries' relationship is so full of conflict, Myanmar-Thai history is more than just a history of war.

As wars with Siam raged on over centuries, the interaction between the two countries increased significantly in terms of politics, economics and culture. Among them, cultural aspect is more spectacular, so to speak. Myanmar and Siam share many similarities dating back centuries. Myanmar had historical contact with Siam since the Dwarawadi period through Mon in the lower part of Myanmar. After the establishment of Tai kingdoms of Lanna, Sukothai and Phayao, the relationship between Myanmar and these early kingdoms of Siam had become manifold. Cultural exchanges multiplied after 'the war of the demise of Queen Suriyothai' and 'the war of the white elephants' during the Taungoo period.

In subsequent periods namely Nyaung Yan and Konboun, people to people contact and interactions between the two countries augmented to a great extent. The Konboun era has been dubbed 'the Golden Age of Literature' in Myanmar because Enaung Zat,¹³⁷ the first Myanmar court drama, followed by Ramayana which was brought by the prisoners of war of 1767 to the Myanmar court, paved the way for the blossoming of Myanmar dramatic plays. Moreover, Myanmar adapted Siamese songs and created (35) new classical verses such as *taydat*,¹³⁸ *dwaygyo*,¹³⁹ *laygyo*,¹⁴⁰ *bawle*,¹⁴¹ etc.

What's more, the Crown Prince Thado Minsaw in King Bodawpaya's reign ordered to form an eight member commission to translate the stories and plays

¹³⁷ *Prince Inao play*

¹³⁸ *type of Myanmar lyric poem.*

¹³⁹ *kind of Myanmar poem consisting of two stanzas.*

¹⁴⁰ *kind of four stanza verse.*

¹⁴¹ *plaintive song.*

brought back from Ayutthya and Chiangmai over the previous two decades. Therefore, many writings and poems reflecting Myanmar-Siam relation are copious in Myanmar literature.

Likewise, Thailand has many great kings as well as heroes and heroines who have risen from past conflicts with Myanmar. Heroic struggles of these people were portrayed in novels, plays, films and in school text books. Furthermore, Royal chronicles, literary classics and historical novels related to the wars with Myanmar are greatly present in Thai literature.

Thus, in the context of Siam-Myanmar relations, Myanmar and Siamese classical literature have become a source of history in learning Myanmar- Siam relations. As we are well aware, both Myanmar and Siamese literature can boast of a respectable antiquity. However, very little is actually known by the scholars of both countries except a few professional historians who know of both literatures and this vast field have yet been investigated systematically.

Myanmar classical literature has several genres written in prose or in poetic form which provide historical accounts of successive dynasties. Examples of prominent prose writings in Myanmar literature are: Yazawin,¹⁴² Ayedawbon treatises,¹⁴³ Dhamathat,¹⁴⁴ Royal orders, Myitarsar,¹⁴⁵ Hlauk Htone,¹⁴⁶ Amaydawphyay Kyan,¹⁴⁷ Sitan,¹⁴⁸ Minkhandaw Sardan,¹⁴⁹ and Thanyawgadipani,¹⁵⁰ above others.

As Myanmar literature grew, poetry became the most popular form of literature in Myanmar. The flexibility of the Myanmar language, because of its monosyllabic and tonal nature, and its lack of many consonantal finals allowed poetry to utilize various rhyming schemes. There are over fifty forms of verses such as *Pyo*,¹⁵¹ *Yadu*,¹⁵²

¹⁴² *chronicle.*

¹⁴³ *records of the struggle by the king*

¹⁴⁴ *law books.*

¹⁴⁵ *letters of affection, not love letters.*

¹⁴⁶ *a compilation of learned discourses or memorable sayings presented to the king by scholars or ministers*

¹⁴⁷ *a compilation of questions and problems posed by the king, or learned ministers, with answers given by venerable monks or eminent scholars*

¹⁴⁸ *revenue inquest*

¹⁴⁹ *Treatise on Royal Ceremonies*

¹⁵⁰ *Treaties on orthography*

¹⁵¹ *poems based on the Jataka Tales*

¹⁵² *lyrical ode on the seasons, love*

Mawgun,¹⁵³ *eigyin*,¹⁵⁴ *Igyin*,¹⁵⁵ *angyin*,¹⁵⁶ *thagyin*,¹⁵⁷ *Kargyin*,¹⁵⁸ *tajagyin*¹⁵⁹ and so on. Each one of them has its own rules and compositions. They are worth studying as they supply a bulk of historical facts and figures.

All researchers accept that out of the texts in prose and in poetic forms, Ayedawbon treatises are one of the momentous genres in Myanmar literature. In fact, they are next in significance to stone inscriptions and chronicles. They are the historical account of the struggle of one king and his military campaigns both at home and abroad. According to Dr. Hla Pe, they are a subsidiary source in Myanmar historiography.¹⁶⁰

Despite the fact that these Ayedawbon treatises are few in number, they are of immense importance and they are one of the vital genres in Myanmar literature. It should also be noted that though most Ayedawbon treatises focus on individual kings, some Ayedawbons such as Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon does not give emphasis to the life of a particular king but on events in Rakhine region.

In his book *On Both Sides of the Tenasserim Range*, Sunait Chutintaranond rightly pointed out that Mawgun, Eigyin, Chronicles, and Ayedawbon kyan are all invaluable sources for the study of Myanmar-Siam warfare, providing details which cannot be found anywhere in Thai documents.¹⁶¹

Most people give full priority only to Chronicles and conveniently forget to pay attention to Ayedawbon treatises. It would not be an exaggeration to say that if we neglect this prominent genre of Myanmar literature in studying Myanmar-Thai relations, we would be like trying to catch a moon beam or a blind man looking for a black cat in a dark room that isn't there. Owing to the above-foregoing reasons and the

¹⁵³ record of important events

¹⁵⁴ a royal lullaby

¹⁵⁵ a kind of folk song

¹⁵⁶ song sung by royal raft men

¹⁵⁷ melodious song about past events

¹⁵⁸ martial song

¹⁵⁹ a kind of Myanmar classical song with the same opening and closing note

¹⁶⁰ Hla Pe, U. *Burma: Literature, Historiography, Scholarship, Language, Life and Buddhism*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Pasir Panjang, Singapore 0511, 1985. P 41.

¹⁶¹ Sunait Chutintaranond. and Than Tun. *On Both Sides of the Tenasserim Range: History of Siamese Burmese Relations*. Chulalongkorn University Phayathai, Bangkok 10330, Thailand. 1995. p 54.

significance of Ayedawbon treatises in Myanmar literature, I choose to write on this genre for my PhD dissertation.

3.2. Ayedawbon Treatises

As mentioned earlier, Ayedawbon treatise is basically a detailed record of the struggle by one person. It matters not whether he is successful in his endeavor or not. History has shown that there were many brave persons who struggled for their causes eventually gained possession of the throne but others such as Princes Myingon and Myinkhontaing's Ayedawbon, ended up in utter failure. It also records military campaigns waged by one king to expand territories or make his influence felt by neighboring countries and invariably includes a plethora of military strategies and tactics to be applied in war. Apart from these, Ayedawbon could be the record of the achievements of great kings such as building of a new royal palace or city, construction and repairing of pagodas, propagating the Buddha Sasana, etc.

There are about seven Ayedawbon kyans or treatises but only five can be classified by Myanmar historians as prominent.

Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon
Rajadirit Ayedawbon
Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon
Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon
Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbon

These five Ayedawbon texts were first printed together in 1923 with a collective title: Ayedawbon Nga Saung Dwe or 'five volumes of Ayedawbon', by the Thudhamawadi Press of Yangon. Since then, there have been later editions of these collective Ayedawbon texts, enlarged from the original five to six after another version of the Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon was found in the National Library of Myanmar, and published in 1961 by the Ministry of Culture.

The remaining two Ayedawbon kyans *Majjhimadesa Ayedawbon* and *Hsin Phyu Shin Ayedawbon* will also be discussed in the dissertation. Though these treatises are not defined as real Ayedawbons, they are great works of Myanmar literati of Konboug era. These treatises concern some important events in the reign of King Bodawpaya.

3.3. Meaning of the word “Ayedawbon”

The meaning of the word *Ayedawbon* must first be explained, for its meaning has changed slightly through the years from its former use.

The standard Myanmar-English Dictionary compiled and published by the Myanmar Language Commission of the Ministry of Education generates the two English meanings to the Myanmar word *Ayedawbon*

- noun
1. [archaic] historical account of a royal campaign (as in *Rajadirit Ayedawbon*)
 2. social or political uprising; revolution.¹⁶²

The Judson Burmese-English Dictionary, compiled by Dr. Adoniram Judson, revised and enlarged by Robert C. Stevenson and Rev. F. H. Eveleth does not have an entry for *Ayedawbon*, but has entries for the root word *Ayedaw* and another for *Ayebonsa* a less common Myanmar word, a variant of the word *Ayedawbon* treatises.¹⁶³

Judson gives the following English meanings:

- [*Ayedawbon*]. noun. a representation of affairs, account, history.¹⁶⁴
 [*Ayedaw*], noun. literary. A royal affair; a term applied to wars waged by the king, rebellions, etc.
 [*Ayebonsa*], noun. a journal of military occurrences.¹⁶⁵

Dr. Hla Pe, in his article called 'Observation on some of the indigenous sources for Burmese history down to 1886', also defines *Ayedawbon* as a 'royal affair: it generally consists of the struggle to power, a savoring of Hitler's Mein Kampf'.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Myanmar-English Dictionary, 2nd edition, 1993. p 578

¹⁶³ Thaw Kaung, U. *Ayedawbon kyan, Aspect of Myanmar history and culture*. Loka Ahlinn publishing house, Yangon, 2010. p. 14.

¹⁶⁴ Judson, Adoniram, 'A Dictionary of the Burman Language, Unauthorized 1st ed. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1826, p.28.

¹⁶⁵ The Judson Burmese-English Dictionary, 2nd ed. 1921, p.100.

¹⁶⁶ Hla Pe, 'Observations on some of the indigenous sources for Burmese history down to 1886', *Burma: Literature, historiography, scholarship, language, life and Buddhism*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985, p. 42.

In his article 'Burmese Concepts of Revolution', the fresh meaning of Ayedawbon has been given by Dr. Robert H. Taylor. He also discusses the original meaning:

"The root of Ayedawbon is ayei, meaning a business or affair, to which appended daw (daw) the suffix denoting royalty, a deity, or (now) the state – and bon (pun), a narrative or sequence of events, giving literally 'story of royal or state affairs'. Judson, in a dictionary he prepared in the early nineteenth century, noted that ayei-daw, while literally meaning royal affairs, was a term applied especially to wars waged by kings, but also rebellions, etc., while ayei-bon-sa (so meaning paper) was a journal of military occurrences. In current daily parlance the term is generally taken to mean the style or nature of a movement or matter concerning royalty or the state; it indicates a political movement in a similar but more forceful sense than the alternative but neutral term hlok-sha-hmu. An ayei-daw-bon is also a body of literature, being the five or six historical accounts of the struggle for power by Kings Danyawdi, Yazadarit, Hanthawadi Hsinbyushin, Nyaungyan Min, and Alaungpaya."¹⁶⁷

3.4. Characteristics of Ayedawbon Treatises

The following characteristics will be evident in a classic Ayedawbon dissertation: accounts of

- (1) how individuals of prowess pursue to overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles to achieve success (but not necessarily to obtain the throne),
- (2) how Myanmar kings deal with various states of affairs in his realm, be it crushing of rebellions, gaining of white elephants, and building of pagodas, cities, roads, etc.
- (3) how wars were waged to amalgamate the breakaway small kingdoms and to make his influence felt by the neighboring countries,
- (4) Important achievements in a particular king's reign.

¹⁶⁷ R. H. Taylor, *Burmese concepts of revolution, in Context meaning and power in Southeast Asia.* (Ithaca, N.Y. Cornell University SEAP, 1986). p 82.

3.5. The Problems of Ayedawbons

There are many problems in connection with Ayedawbon. The two outstanding problems are, inter alia, authorship of a number of Ayedawbon texts and problematic categorization of Ayedawbon. The two well-known scholars who specialized on the problems of Ayedawbon kyans were Dr. Yi Yi, Myanmar researcher and historian of the Myanmar Historical Commission who wrote an article called 'Ayedawbon kyan mya pyathana (problems of Ayedawbon treatises) and U Maung Maung Gyi, professor of Myanmar Literature at the University of Yangon.

There are three Ayedawbon kyans which have authorship problems: Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon (King Bayintnaung), Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbon and Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon (three different versions). Another two Ayedawbons Majjhima desa Ayedawbon and Hsin Phyu Shin Ayedawbon (King Bodawpaya) pose some problems in coming to be defined as Ayedawbon.

3.5.1. Authorship problem

3.5.1.1. *Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon*

The main reference source for Myanmar classical literature, viz. the Paitakat taw Thamaing by U Yan, Librarian of King Mindon and King Thibaw, mentions that it was written by Saya (acharn).

The editors of Thudhamawadi edition of Ayedawbon Nga Saung Dwe (Collection of 5 Ayedawbons) and later edition of Myanmar Min Mya Ayedawbon or Ayedawbon Chauk Saung Dwe (Collection of 6 Ayedawbons) attributed authorship to Letwe Nawrahta. U Maung Maung Gyi agreed with the editors but Dr. Yi Yi gave authorship to Twin Thin Taik Wun Maha Sithu (U Tun Nyo). She based her assumption on a comparison of the style of writing in Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon with the writing in one of the versions of Alaung Mintayagyi

Ayedawbon.¹⁶⁸ Some scholars did not agree with Dr. Yi Yi and gave Letwei Nawrahta as the author of Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Myan Shin Ayedawbon.

In 1974, Myanmar researcher Maung Kyauk Taing mentions in his book on Letwe Nawrahta that he had seen a complete text of the Ayedawbon in typescript, copied from a palm-leaf manuscript. The colophon of this text stipulated that the author's name was Yazataman (Oke-tha-raw), a minister under king Bayintnaung.

In 2000, U Thaw Kaung, retired Chief Librarian of Universities Central Library, found a mimeographed copy of the complete text of the Ayedawbon which was made from palm-leaf mss. copied in 1839 CE. The colophon states that the author Rajataman was requested by the Crown Prince and by the Kings of Pyi, Taungoo and Innwa to compile this Ayedawbon in the year Myanmar Era 926 (CE 1564).¹⁶⁹

3.5.1.2. Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbon

This Ayedawbon is not included in the list of U Yan. There is no mention of the author's name in the text also.

The editors of Thudamawadi press, 1923, mention that it was written by eater of Myin Khon daing Tayathugyi¹⁷⁰ Maha Atula Dammika Yazar but Pe Maung Tin and U Maung Maung Gyi suggest that the author would be Letwe Nawrahta.

After close examination, Dr. Yi Yi states that it is just the combination of extracts from U Kala's Maha Yazawingyi and Min Ye Dibba Eigyin (A poem on the birth of Min Ye Dibba, son of King Anaukphetlun, 1598-1638).

3.5.1.3. Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon (three different texts)

This Ayedawbon pose the most complex authorship problems. U Yan, in item 2035 of 3 Pitakat Sardan, mentions that Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon was written by Than daw Sint (Royal writer) Letwe Nawrahta during the reign of King

¹⁶⁸ Yi Yi, Dr., 'Ayedawbon kyan mya pyat thana'p.50.

¹⁶⁹ Thaw Kaung, 'Ayedawbon kyan,' *Aspects of Myanmar History and Culture*, Yangon, Gantgaw Myaing Sarpay, 2010, p.21.

¹⁷⁰ Judge

Ayangpaya.¹⁷¹ In item 2036 of the same sardon, there are another mention of Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon composed by Twin Thin Taik Wun Maha Sithu.¹⁷²

The first version of Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon which has no author's name was printed in 1883 by Okkalapa press and later reprinted in 1900 by the Hanthawadi press. These versions only mentioned that it was written by a wise man from the time of King Alaungpaya. The manuscript of this version begins with the phrase, "*Yatanapura Innwa min toi e asi ko so pyee Raei Yakhu akhar Alaung Mintayagyi ayedawbon atohkpati ko akyin myra yay pe ant (After describing the kings of Ratnapura (Innwa) in sequence, I will relate now a summary of the biography of Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon.*"

In 1923, the editors of Thudhamawadi edition of Ayedawbon Nga Saung Dwe (Collection of Five Ayedawbons) attributed the authorship of Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon to Twin Thin Taik Wun Maha Sithu (U Tun Nyo). But other prominent scholar U Pe Maung Tin in his History of Myanmar literature and U Maung Maung Gyi suggest that the author should be Letwe Nawrahta.

In 1961, Ministry of Culture published two versions of Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon edited by U Hla Tin (pen name Hla Thamain). U Hla Tin stated that he found a new version of Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon in the National Library. As it also has no author's name, he gave authorship of the version to Letwe Nawrahta. The manuscript of this version starts with "*Aung thu ta kar toi e' a htut phytit taw mu thaw'* (the most exalted of all pre-eminent persons)."

In 1967, Natha press published 'Ayedawbon 6 Saung Dwe or Myanmar Min Mya Ayedawbon. In this edition, authorship of the first edition of Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon to Letwe Nawrahta and the other edition of 1961 to Twin Thin Taik Wun Maha Sithu (U Tun Nyo).

In 1967, after examining these two texts, Dr. Yi Yi said that both are U Tun Nyo because she had seen a third version in manuscript form from Mandalay University which had Letwe Nawrahta's name in the text. This version begins with Pali phrase, '*Bhegyavadi gunakaram'*. It starts with the 40 years' history under the two Nyaung Yan kings: Taninganwe min and Maha Dhama Yazadipati. The author wrote

¹⁷¹ Maung Maung Gyi, U, '6 Ayedawbon,' Myanmar Min Mya Ayedawbon, p.6.

¹⁷² Ibid, p.7.

in the exordium that his intention was to write a chronicle from October 1711 where the Maha Yazawingyi had ended so that people can read continuously the history of Myanmar.¹⁷³ Unfortunately, the last part of this manuscript is still missing. This Ayedawbon ends with the conquest of Kway (Lawa) in ME 1119 (1758 CE) and does not include the last two campaigns of King Alaungpaya to Kathe' and Ayutthaya.

Recent Research by Daw Ohn Kyi, Retired Professor of History and member of the Myanmar Historical Commission, indicates that the first published text is by Letwe Nawrahta and second version by Twin Thin Taik Wun Maha Sithu (U Tun Nyo).¹⁷⁴

3.5.2. Problematic categorization of Ayedawbon

3.5.2.1. *Majjhimadesa Ayedawbon*

The author himself does not call it Ayedawbon but only a Sardan (treatise). Dr. Yi Yi rejects it from the Ayedawbon list. It concerns two uprisings in Rakhine region of 1794 and 1798 respectively. In additions, the first Myanmar mission sent to India for copying and collecting Sanskrit treatises is described in detail.

3.5.2.2. *Hsin Phyu Shin Ayedawbon*

The title of this manuscript is Min Khandaw Sardan. Only in the opening passage has the phrase Hsin Phyu Shin Mintayagyi Ayedawbon Thamaing. It covers only the first five years of King Bodawpaya's reign. It so happens that the author, after serving the last king of Nyaung Yan period and five Konboun kings, died in 1791.

The remaining two Ayedawbons Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon and Rajadirit Ayedawbon are accepted as real Ayedawbons and there is no controversy in connection with authorship problems.

3.6. Significance of Ayedawbon Treatises

The uniqueness of these Ayedawbon treatises is that while almost all historical writings from 16th to 19th century were written in poetic form, they are historical texts

¹⁷³ Thaw Kaung, 'Ayedawbon kyan,' *Aspect of Myanmar history and culture, Yangon, Gant-gaw Myaing Sarpay, 2010, p.81.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid, p. 25.*

in prose written by different Myanmar literati at different times in history. Some Ayedawbons like Rajadirit Ayedawbon are good examples of Myanmar prose of the 16th century and also an example of early translation into Myanmar from Mon.

Ayedawbon treatises contain a vast quantity of facts and figures. Many of the authors were military commanders, able ministers and competent writers who had access to court records. They are contemporary writings as well as reliable sources and have the merit of being considerably informative. It is essential to explore these reign. Out of these records he selected 135, of which 100 were rejected as not worthy of being recorded in his Ayedawbon.¹⁷⁵

Likewise, Alaungpaya's campaign against Ayutthaya is an eye-witness account because the author Letwe Nawrahta accompanied the king on the campaign in Ayutthaya. Similarly, Rajadirit Ayedawbon is a compilation and translation into Myanmar language from Mon historical records. It was written nearly 500 years ago.

Ayedawbon kyans are known in the past, and parts were summarized in the well known Myanmar chronicles and other documents. They may not revolutionize our view of histories of the relations of the two countries but it is full of fascinating details as they were written by men who took a leading part in the events recorded.

Apart from Myanmar-Siam relations and warfare, these Ayedawbon treatises cover the histories of the four principal tribes of Myanmar; for example, Dhanyawdi Ayedawbon deals with successive dynasties of Rakhine kings. Similarly, Razadirit Ayedawbon kyan is related to Mon Kings Magadu or Wareru and Rajadirit. And the other treatises involve Myanmar kings, Myanmarised Shan kings and the rulers of petty Shan states. So they are a mine of information for the histories of these tribes.

The subjects covered in the Ayedawbon treatises, events during the reigns of some of the great kings of Myanmar, are important not only for Myanmar history but for Thai history as well, especially Rajadirit, Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin and Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon treatises.

¹⁷⁵ *Thaw Kaung, Ayedawbon Kyan, an Important Myanmar Literary Genre Recording Historical Events, Aspects of Myanmar History and Culture, P.21.*

3.7. Historical Periods Covered in Each Ayedawbon Kyan

3.7.1. Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon

The authorship of Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon is attributed to Dwarawati (Thandwe) Sayadaw Kavisarabhi Siripavara Agga Maha Dharmma Rajadhi Raja Guru. It was compiled three years after the conquest of Rakhine by King Bodawpaya of Konboun dynasty and was finished in ME 1150 (1788 CE).

He was one of the missionary monks sent by King Bodawpaya to Rakhine to take charge of the clergy in Sandoway district.¹⁷⁶ In the conclusion, Dwarawati Sayadaw clearly stated that the work was based on the great chronicle of 48 anga¹⁷⁷ compiled by the learned Rakhine scholar Maram Amat Myo So Phat Tat Toe We who was well versed in affairs both Loki (Secular affairs) and Lokuttara (affairs not concerned with worldly desires and attachments).

It covers the period from the reign of King Kanraja Gyi (c. 825 CE) to 1784 CE when Rakhine was incorporated into Myanmar by King Bodawpaya. Since time immemorial, Rakhine has been called Dhanyawadi, the land of bountiful rice. There are 5 periods in Rakhine history;

Dhanyawadi period (3325 BCE to 327 CE),
Vesali period (350 to 776 CE),
Lemro period (818 to 1250 CE),
Laungret period (1250 to 1420 CE), and
Mrauk-U period (1430 to 1785 CE).

This Ayedawbon treatise provides short accounts of the early reigns of Rakhine kings. In the olden days, Rakhine was independent of Myanmar proper and its influence expanded to Bengal region. Successive Rakhine kings ruled over Bengal twelve cities¹⁷⁸ such as Dhaka, Chittagong and Cox bazaar, etc up to 1666 CE. At that time, there existed three independent kingdoms namely Sultanate of Dhaka, Sultanate of

¹⁷⁶ UTet Htoot, U. 'The Nature of the Burmese Chronicles', p. 51

¹⁷⁷ (One anga has 12 palm leaves and so twenty-four pages of writing. The old chronicle must have had 576 palm leaves and double the amount in pages) Tet Htoot, U. *The Nature of the Burmese Chronicles*, p 57.

¹⁷⁸ All these cities are in present day Bangladesh.

Delhi and kingdom of Tipura in northern and eastern part of India. The early Rakhine history covers uninterrupted rivalry with these three kingdoms.

The text also reveals many homilies and wise counsels given to various kings on good governance by sagacious men and ministers.

In 1406, King Narramaikhla fled from a Myanmar invasion and took refuge in Guar, capital of the Sultanate of Dhaka. After spending twelve years in Guar, he came back to Rakhine around 1428 CE and retook the throne with the help of Sultan of Dhaka and his brother, ruler of Sandoway. The king established a new capital at Mrauk U. As a token of gratitude for helping him, he gave twelve cities back to the Sultan of Dhaka. Moreover, he and his descendent kings adopted Muslim titles and had their coins minted according to Bengal model.

When King Min Ba ascended the throne in 1531, he asserted that this debt of gratitude had to come to an end and these lands had to be returned. Accordingly, he invaded Bengal and re-conquered these lands. His successors were also warrior kings. From 1578 to 1629, they established Rakhine regional power status.

One interesting event took place during the reign of King Man Raja-kri (1593-1612). He joined the King of Taungoo in an attack on Hanthawadi and sent a fleet under the command of his son, prince Man Khamaung. Hanthawadi fell to the combined forces of Rakhine and Taungoo. Shortly after this, the Siamese king Naresuan invaded Myanmar, went up to Taungoo to capture Nanda Bayin¹⁷⁹ but failed. He carried off a sizeable number of Siamese and Mon people to Siam. In the land and sea battles, Rakhine naval forces cut off the supply line of the Siamese forces. While retreating, King Naresuan's army was invested by Sak (Thet) tribes, an ally of Rakhine king. They achieved success in capturing the White Prince, younger brother of King Naresuan and sent him to the Rakhine king. He was later ransomed and returned home.

¹⁷⁹ Phayre adopted the name Nanda Bayin for the son of Bayintnaung. Nanda Bayin is very puzzling to the Burmese as it does not sound as a Burmese name. Nanda Bayin is known as Ngazudayaka in *Burmese Chronicles. Tet Htut, 'The Nature of the Burmese Chronicles', foot note, p.58*

From 1666 CE onwards, Rakhine power gradually declined. The later kings were non-entity and these weak kings failed to adjust to a rapidly changing political and economic environment in the second half of the seventeenth century.

This treatise ends with the fall of Mrauk U, the last capital of Rakhine in 1784 CE. It ended the long line of Rakhine kings and Rakhine was permanently incorporated into Myanmar by King Bodawpaya.

3.7.2. Rajadirit Ayedawbon

The history of Thaton-Hanthawadi was recorded in two volumes in ancient Mon literature. Banya Dala, the Mon minister and general of King Bayintnaung, translated the first volume from King Wareru (Magadu) to Rajadirit into Myanmar and named it 'The Struggle of Rajadirit'.¹⁸⁰

For all his brilliance, the author Banya Dala was not loyal to the king. He plotted many times to assassinate Bayintnaung but the latter spared him as being a wise man. When King Bayintnaung conquered Hanthawadi, Banya Dala, having conspired with the Mon bearers of the king's palanquin, buried a sword at one point of the procession route of the king. When the king reached that place, the sword emerged as the soldiers inadvertently treaded on it. After investigation, frightful bearers revealed the truth. The king said that Banya Dala would not dare to attempt on his life. Even if he did, it would be impossible on such king as himself. No action was taken against Banya Dala but all the Mon bearers were executed.

The second attempt on the king's life occurred at the Shwe Maw Daw pagoda. A dozen Mons were stationed at the Maha Ram arch entrance above the covered passage. When the king climbed up the stairways and arrived at the Archway, the would-be assassins could not stand and fell to the ground due to the omniscient power of the king. They confessed that they acted on according to Banya Dala's plan. The king uttered the same words as in the previous occasion. Banya Dala was forgiven but all the assassins were killed.

¹⁸⁰ C.T. Aung, 'The Struggle of Rajadharit, *The Guardian Daily*, Yagon, November 19, 1977

Banya Dala's attempt for the last time on king's life happened during the king's pilgrimage to the Dagon Pagoda with the royal raft. The two Mon swordsmen who could submerge themselves under the water for quite a long time waited under the royal raft to murder the king when he mounted the raft. Because of the traces of the bubbles on the water, the two Mons were searched and found. As in the previous two cases, the king pardoned Banya Dala's life but the two culprits were sentenced to death.¹⁸¹

He was disgraced by King Bayintnaung only when he made a blunder in his military campaigns in Siam. As a result, he was banished from the court to the malarious place called Zanet in Siam and died in the province of Kamphaengphet.

When this Ayedawbon was first published in 1923, the Thudhamawadi editors erroneously attributed the authorship to Sithu Gamani Thingyan. But U Yan, Royal Librarian of King Mindon and King Thibaw in the Konboun period, states that Sithu Gamani Thingyan wrote only two historical works, namely the Zimme Yazawin (the Myanmar chronicle of Chiangmai) and the Rakhine Yazawin.

U Yan and later U Pe Maung Tin stated that this Ayedawbon is by Banya Dala, and this was supported by U Maung Maung Gyi and Dr. Yi Yi. So, there is no controversy in connection with the authorship of this Ayedawbon.

There is another palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Magadu Ayedawbon* in the British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections (Burmese manuscript no. 3449). On further examination of the text this has been found to be the first portions of the Rajadirit Ayedawbon. So it cannot be designated as a separate one.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ *Ba Thaung, Bohmu (Maung Thuta). Sarsodaw-mya athotkepatti...5th ed. rev. by U Khin Aye. Yangon: Yarpyi Saroke Taik (distributor); Lawka Sarpay (publisher), 2002. p. 97.*

¹⁸² *Thaw Kaung, Ayedawbon Kyan, an Important Myanmar Literary Genre Recording Historical Events, Aspects of Myanmar History and Culture, P.29*

The text begins with Magadu also known as King Wareru (CE 1284-1296) and ends with the death of King Rajadirit in 1423. In the history of Myanmar, King Anawrahta crushed Mon power and throughout the Bagan period, Myanmar dominated Ramanya Desa until the fall of Bagan by the Mongols in the thirteenth century.

About that time, young Magadu, who eloped with the daughter of Sukothai king, rose to power and exercised his authority over Mattaban and Hathawadi. Later, the Siamese king conferred him the title 'Wareru' (in Thai, Fa rua) and sent a white elephant to Mattaban as a royal gift. This king is well known in Myanmar for his achievement in compilation of law books called 'Wareru Dhamathat'; actually a digest of the laws of Manu.

Rajadirt succeeded his father, King Banya U in 1383 CE. This king was well versed in the art of war. After suppressing all the Mon rebels, he waged war with Myanmar king of Innwa. The Mon/Myanmar war lasted 40 years without victory on any side. To learn old Myanmar military strategies and tactics, this Ayedawbon was translated into Siamese during the reign of King Rama I. There are several versions of this Ayedawbon but the most influential one is at the order of the King Rama I. Another version was translated by Chao Phraya Phra Khlang. Later, this classic literature has found its way into Thai school texts, plays and television series.

Banya Dala's writing has been praised as a model of good Myanmar prose of the early Toungoo period and the text was prescribed for Myanmar literature students at one time.¹⁸³

Although the text focuses on King Rajadirit's wars against King Min Gaung in the First Innwa period, there are mentions of many interactions between Myanmar and the early kingdoms of Siam in this Ayedawbon.

¹⁸³ Zaw Gyi, pen-name of famous Myanmar author U Thein Han, "Mon Wungyi hnint Myanmar zagapye," reprinted in *Rajadirit Ayedawbon 3rd ed.* Yangon: Zwe sarpay Yeik Myon, 1974. p. nsa to pna.

3.7.3. Hanthawadi Sinphyumyashin Ayedawbon

This treatise describes the life and the military campaigns of King Bayintnaung (1551-1581). The main reference source for Myanmar classical literature, viz, the Pitakat-taw Thamaing¹⁸⁴ by U Yan says that it was written by a Saya¹⁸⁵ whose name is not known. Different scholars at different times attribute authorship to Letwe Nawrahta and to U Tun Nyo¹⁸⁶. However, thanks to the efforts of Myanmar historians, we can now solve this problem. The authorship has been attributed to Yazataman (Oke-tha-raw), a commander of a cavalry troop division and later minister at the court of Hanthawadi, and the date of compilation was ME 926 (1564 CE).

This Ayedawbon can be divided into two parts.

The first part concerns the conquest of King Bayintnaung over various tribes and small kingdoms in Myanmar. The king first reunified the country and later founded the largest empire in Southeast Asia. He conquered Hanthawadi in 1551, Innwa in 1555, and Mongmit, Hsipaw, Mohnyin, Mogaung, Mongnai, Yawngwe in 1557.

The second part deals with his foreign wars. He fought wars with Manipur, Chiangmai, Ayutthaya, Lin Zin, Sipsaungpana¹⁸⁷ and northern Vietnam. He also sent five shiploads of soldiers to help Sri Lankan king fight against his enemies.

Myanmar literary works abound in descriptions of great marches by his armies and the beautiful scenes of Chiangmai and Ayutthaya. Interestingly, a controversial and legendary figure, Princess Supankalyar, elder sister of the Black and White Princes, was said to have lived at that time.

This energetic king was variously named as 'a king without a kingdom,' 'the conqueror of ten directions,' etc. He spent most of his reign in the military campaigns.

¹⁸⁴ *bibliography*

¹⁸⁵ *teacher*

¹⁸⁶ *Twin-thin Taik Wun Maha Sithu*

¹⁸⁷ *presentday Xishuangbanna Dai Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan*

His forces were about to invest Rakhine when he died at the age of 66. In the dissertation, emphasis will be given to the king's military expeditions to foreign lands.

3.7.4. Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbon

Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbon covers the reigns of two kings, Nyaung Yan and his son, Anaukphetlun. This Ayedawbon has some problems: it is not listed by U Yan and the author's name is also not given in the text.

After careful scrutiny of the text, Dr. Yi Yi, a famous historian, states that it is a composite work with text either directly copied or adapted from U Kala's Maha Yazawin-gyi, (Great Chronicle), vols. 3 to 17 and 18 and from Min Ye Dibba Eigyin, written around 1608 CE by Shin Than Kho (1518-1638).¹⁸⁸

Earlier, in 1920, the editors of the five volumes of Ayedawbon treatises had attributed authorship to Maha Atula Dammika Yazar, the Judge who was the eater of Myin-khon-taing town in the introduction of the Thudhamawadi edition.

The text says that the interregnum that followed the fall of First Taungoo was short-lived. One of Bayintnaung's sons, ruler of Naungyan province, immediately began the reunification effort, restoring central authority over Upper Myanmar and Shan states in 1606. However, he died before he could subjugate the smaller kingdoms in the lower part of Myanmar.

King Anaukphetlon completed the task left unfinished by his father. He defeated the Portugese at Cyrim (Thanlynn) in 1613; recovered the upper Tenasserim coast to Tavoy and Lan Na from the Siamese by 1614; and the trans-Salween Shan states in 1622-1626.

Both these kings tried to rebuild the Myanmar Empire to its former glory. Lan Na was then split into two regions; Chiang Saen and Chiangmai. Although this Ayedawbon does not reveal much about Myanmar-Siam relations, we can learn them from other sources since a great deal of interaction between the countries took place during that period.

¹⁸⁸ Yi Yi, Dr. 'Ayedawbon kyan mya pyat-thana,' [The problems of Ayedawbon kyan], in Kantha Sein Lei sardanmya. Yangon: Minhla Sarpay, 1969. p. 30-62.

3.7.5. Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon

This Ayedawbon (which exists in three different texts) covers Alaungpaya's struggle for the reunification of the country after crushing Mons. According to U Yan, there are two versions. One is by Letwe Nawrahta and the other by U Tun Nyo.

U Yan states that the one by Letwe Nawrahta is a contemporary record written during King Alaungpaya's reign. The other version that U Yan lists is the one by Twin-thin Taik Wun Mingyi Maha Sithu, i.e. U Tun Nyo, a native of Maung Htaung village of Alon Myo. U Yan does not give further details.

Myanmar historians later attribute the authorship of two different texts to Letwe Nawrahta and the other to Twin Thin Taik Wun Mahasithu. Both of them were ministers at the court of early Konbouning kings.

Alaungpaya was king of Myanmar from 1752 to 1760, and the founder of Konbouning Dynasty. By his death in 1760, the former chief of a small village of Moksobo had unified Myanmar, crushed Mon's authority, subdued Manipur, and recovered Lan Na. He also founded Yangon in 1755. A charismatic military leader of the first quality was he; lavish in praising and rewarding his subjects – and merciless to them in failure.

In 1758, Alaungpaya dispatched an expedition to the northern Shan states including Xishuagbanna in Yunan which had been annexed by the Qing Dynasty of China in the mid-1730s. By early 1759, Myanmar had successfully reestablished their authority. (The Chinese attempt to re-conquer the region would lead to the Sino–Myanmar War (1765-1769).

He is considered one of the three greatest kings of Myanmar, alongside Anawrahta and Bayintnaung, for unifying the country for the third time in Myanmar history. He had reigned only eight years, and a few months short of reaching 46 when he died. Then again, G.E. Harvey writes that “men are remembered by the years they use, not by the years they last”.

This Ayedawbon ends with Alaungpaya's death on his return journey after a failed campaign against Ayutthaya in 1760.

3.7.6. Majjhimadesa Ayedawbon

Majjhimadesa Ayedawbon is written by Nay Myo Zaya Kyaw Htin, Governor of Sandoway (Than Dwe) town. There were four administrative regions in Rakhine under King Bodawpaya's reign: Dhanyawadi (Myrauk U), Ramawadi (Ramree Island), Dwarawadi (Than Dwe), and Mawghawadi (Man Aung Island). According to Myanmar historian U Thaw Kaung, manuscript form of this Ayedawbon was discovered in the 1950's from the British Library in London and at the Universities Central Library in Yangon.

“Majjhima” is a Pali word for the middle place including the sixteen countries of India, famous in Buddhist history. 'Desa' is region so its meaning implies 'middle country' in central India. It comprises of rebellions against Myanmar rule in the Rakhine region from 1794 to 1811 and one Myanmar mission led by the author Zaya Kyaw Htin to India during the reign of King Bodawpaya. The problem with this Ayedawbon is that the author does not call it an Ayedawbon but only a Sadan or Treatise. Dr. Yi Yi, who specialized on the problems of Ayedawbon treatises, rejects it from the Ayedawbon list.

The text can be divided into three parts:

3.7.6.1. Part.1 covers the period of rebellion against Myanmar rule by Nga Pawlon, Nga Khywe Pauk and Khywe Ta Koung Naing (crusher of one buffalo) from about CE 1794 to 1795.

Rakhine people expected that the Myanmar conquest of Rakhine by King Bodawpaya in 1785 would bring peace to their country. The people exulted at the prospect of relief from the utterly chaotic situation of the country and frequent civil wars; but their hopes were soon dissipated by the king's severe treatment, and they began to revolt.

From 1784 to 1816 CE, King Bodawpaya waged 6 major foreign wars to conquer neighbouring countries. Just one year after the occupation of Rakhine, the king launched a massive attack on Bangkok. He marched against Zinme' in the same

year. In 1797, he invested Zinme' for the second time. The king dispatched his army to occupy Manipur in 1806. In 1813, he marched again on Manipur. The king fought war with Assam and occupied the town in 1816. Many people of Rakhine were conscripted to take part in these wars. They had to shoulder the heavy burden by paying a large amount of tax and provisions. Another cause of discontent was that thousands of Rakhine people were forced to labor on the 'works of merit' undertaken by Bodawpaya to repair Maithtila tank and build the Mingun stupa and bell.

The perpetrators of the insurrection Nga Pawlon, Nga Khywe Pauk and Khywe Ta Koung Naing¹⁸⁹ maintained for some years a guerilla resistance. Owing to the suppression and heavy taxes, thousands of people abandoned their country, and took refuge in British territory, where they were permitted to settle on unoccupied land. Three instigators, after having maintained the struggle for independence, were compelled to cross the border.

In 1794, the Myanmar general, Nandakyoazo along with the author Nay Myo Zaya Kyaw Htin, with a force of five thousand men crossed the Naff River near its mouth, to demand the three rebels, who were charged with insurgence, robbery, and murder. He established his force in British territory and was confronted with a detachment of troops under major-general Erskine which was sent from Calcutta to oppose this aggression. Negotiation ensued, and the Myanmar general consented to withdraw, on the assurance that inquiry would be made into the charges brought.

The result was that the three insurrectionists were delivered up as fugitive criminals. On the way to Amarapura, Khywe Ta Koung Naing managed to escape at Hsin Phyu Island but the other two freedom fighters were executed. In the hope of preventing a recurrence of such an aggression, and of improving the trade existing between the two countries, Captain Symes was deputed by the Governor-general of India, as envoy to Bodawpaya in 1795.

3.7.6.2. Part. 2 is on Nga Chin Byan's rebellion from about 1798 to 1814 CE.

In 1798, events similar to those of 1794 again occurred on the frontier of Rakhine. Combined forces of four governors of Rakhine suppressed the rebellion and as a result, thousands of Rakhine people emigrated into the district of Chittagong.

¹⁸⁹ *crusher of one buffalo.*

Once more a Myanmar military force crossed into British territory to compel the rebels to return. Negotiation took place and Myanmar army withdrew.³

This time, the name of the rebel leader was Nga Chin Byan. He was so named because by the time he was born, his father Nge Thandwe arrived back from his tour to the Chin Hills. Nga Chin Byan's father was none other than the one who went to Amarapura beseeching aid to restore law and order in Rakhine due to the upheaval from 1782 to 1784. After the occupation of Rakhine, King Bodawpaya appointed him as governor of Dhanyawadi but later he and his son revolted against the Myanmar rule.

Nga Chin Byan also fled into the district of Chittagong. There he gathered a number of his fellow-countrymen, and entering Rakhine, attacked Myanmar detachments and outposts. In 1811, he crossed the Naff River and overrun the city of Maungtaw. From there, he managed to liberate large territories of Rakhine. The four governors of Rakhine could not defend the offensive launched by Nga Chin Byan and in the battle of 'Moe Thee Nat Taw' in Myepon township, Nga Khe', governor of Ramawadi and Thar Yan Paing, governor of Mawghawadi gave up the ghost. Governor Mingyi Kyaw Htin of Dwarawadi had to fortify the city by closing the main gate and defended from within the city wall.

Nga Chin Byan established the Zayawadi town, west of Kissipanadi river and crowned himself as King of Rakhine. Meanwhile, King Bodawpaya formed a huge army under General Min Hla Sithu. The army marched on Rakhine and successfully quelled the rebellion.

This time, the name of the rebel leader was Nga Chin Byan. He was so named because by the time he was born, his father Nge Thandwe arrived back from his tour to the Chin Hills. Nga Chin Byan's father was none other than the one who went to Amarapura beseeching aid to restore law and order in Rakhine due to the upheaval from 1782 to 1784. After the occupation of Rakhine, King Bodawpaya appointed him as governor of Dhanyawadi but later he and his son revolted against the Myanmar rule.

Nga Chin Byan also fled into the district of Chittagong. There he gathered a number of his fellow-countrymen, and entering Rakhine, attacked Myanmar detachments and outposts. In 1811, he crossed the Naff River and overrun the city of

Maungtaw. From there, he managed to liberate large territories of Rakhine. The four governors of Rakhine could not defend the offensive launched by Nga Chin Byan and in the battle of 'Moe Thee Nat Taw' in Myepon township, Nga Khe', governor of Ramawadi and Thar Yan Paing, governor of Mawghawadi gave up the ghost. Governor Mingyi Kyaw Htin of Dwarawadi had to fortify the city by closing the main gate and defended from within the city wall.

Nga Chin Byan established the Zayawadi town, west of Kissipanadi river and crowned himself as King of Rakhine. Meanwhile, King Bodawpaya formed a huge army under General Min Hla Sithu. The army marched on Rakhine and successfully quelled the rebellion.

As Nga Chin Byan had again taken refuge in British territory, the governor of Rakhine marched with an army to the frontier, and required the surrender of the rebels, using threats if the demands were not complied with. This triggered another series of negotiations between the governor and the British magistrate of Chittagong, which ended in the Myanmar troops being withdrawn from the frontier.

Na Chin Byan continued to raid intermittently on the frontier of Rakhine. Finally, in 1814, the British government allowed Myanmar troops to cross the British territory to attack the chief in his stronghold. At last, the chief rebel Nga Chin Byan died of illness and his rebellion was suppressed. English administrator cum writer Arthur Phayre criticized the British authorities:

*“their real crime was that they had led their fellow country men in resistance to the Burmese conqueror, and in their wild warfare had probably been as unscrupulous as their oppressors of the lives of their foes. The surrender of these patriots must be condemned as an act unworthy of a civilized power, having an armed force at command.”*¹⁹⁰

3.7.6.3. Part. 3 is on Myanmar missions sent by King Bodawpaya to India to collect manuscripts, and also to carry out intelligence work on the British expansion into India.

The author of this Ayedawbon, Zeya Kyaw Htin, led the official mission of 1812 to Majjhima desa. Around that time, the East India Company accused King

¹⁹⁰ *Eastern Frontier, p 148*

Bodawpaya of forming a plot to drive out the English from the Bengal region by making alliance with Maha rajas of Preshwar, Lahore, Nepal, Maratha, etc. Myanmar source also stated that after the conquest of Manipur and Assam, King Bodawpaya became conceited. Then he entertained thoughts of encroaching on Begal 12 cities (which in the past were the territories of Rakhine kings) such as Chittagaung, Panwar, Decca, Cox Bazaar, etc. He dispatched many spies to India under cover of searching and copying for ancient manuscripts and treatises.¹⁹¹

Moreover, he demanded that Bengal region be given to Myanmar. The following is the translation of a letter from the Governor of Ramawadi to the Governor General of India sent on 8th June, 1818:

“Our sovereign is admirer of justice, and a strict observer of the laws and usages, as they existed in ancient times, and strongly disapproves every thing unjust and unreasonable. Ramoo, Chittagong, Moorshedabad, and Dacca are countries which do not belong to the English, they are originally subject to the government of Arracan, and now belong to our Sovereign. Neither the English company nor their nation observe the ancient laws strictly, they ought not to have levied revenues, tributes, from their provinces, nor have disposed of such funds at their direction. The Governor-General representing the English company, should surrender these dominions, and pay the collections realized there from to our sovereign. If this is refused, I shall present it to his Majesty, General with powerful forces will be dispatched, both by sea and land, and I shall myself come for the purpose of storming, capturing, and destroying the whole of English possessions, which I shall afterwards offer to my sovereign, but I send this letter, in the first place, to make the demand from the Governor-General.”¹⁹²

Thus, it could be assumed that the purpose of Myanmar missions sent to India to collect manuscripts were also to carry out intelligence work on the British expansion into India. The following is a list of Myanmar missions sent to Bengal, India and Nepal during the reign of King Bodawpaya:

- (1784 CE) Thiri Sanagup, Thiri Jaya and Jaya Dhama Guru,
- (1797 CE) Thar Nga The' (warden of a royal chamber),

¹⁹¹ *The administration of Myanmar kings, volume 111, p 62.*

¹⁹² *Wilson's Documents, pp 5-6.*

- (1805 CE) Min Kyaw Tamut,
- (1806 CE) Nga Hlay,
- (1806 CE) Shwe Taung Thargathu (Governor of Ramawadi),
- (1810 CE) Nga Pe Tu and Nga Khwe,
- (1812 CE) Ye Htin Gyi and Nawa Dipa,
- (1813 CE) Jaya Kyaw Htin (revenue officer),
- (1815 CE) Thiri Pyanchi Narah Jaya Kyaw (in charge of the glebe lands) and Pyanchi Jaya Nawrahta (tax officer),
- (1817 CE) Naymyo Min Hla Kyaw (Governor of Mergui), and
- (1817 CE) Min Kyaw Tamut, Thuwun Thabya, Pyinsa Oksu, learned Bhramin Paya Kyi mu and Pyinyar Htarwakar.¹⁹³

Near the end of the text are some Royal Orders of the Myanmar king in connection with the mission, including records about an Indian Princess and her retinue sent to King Bodawpaya in 1814-18 and a Royal Order to repair and widen the 'Royal Road' between Dwarawadi on the sea coast across the Rakhine Yoma mountains to the Ayeawady River near Prome.

3.7.7. Hsin Phyu Shin Ayedawbon

Hsin Phyu Shin Ayedawbon is written by court minister Letwe Nawrahta. It is still in manuscript form and remains unpublished. The Ayedawbon covers the first five years of Bodawpaya's reign to 1786 CE. For it so happens that the author himself died in 1791 though the king ruled from 1782 to 1816.

It includes Bodawpaya's campaigns of crushing the rebellions by Phaungasa Maung Maung and Nga Phone, the records of Rakhine campaign under the Crown Prince and the accounts of how the gargantuan Maha Muni image was brought to Amarapura.

Although the author himself call it an Ayedawbon, the palm-leaf manuscript has as the main heading Min Khan Daw Sardan¹⁹⁴.

The eminent Myanmar historian, Daw Kyan, writes that though Bodawpaya, or King Badon, is not popularly known as Hsinbyu shin¹⁹⁵, he did possess several white elephants including the female white elephant found in Maha Hlega Forest entitled Thiri Marlar Maha Thubattar and also Nibbarna Pyitsaya Naga Yazar, male

¹⁹³ *Political situation during the reign of King Badon, p. 154. See also Than Tun, The Royal Orders of Burma, VII, Kyoto, the Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1988, p. 365*

¹⁹⁴ *Treatise on Royal Ceremonies*

¹⁹⁵ *possessor of the white elephant*

white elephant, together with other white and red royal full grown elephants, altogether 120 in number.¹⁹⁶

Dr. Than Tun also stated that from 1784 to 1806 Bodawpaya made several celebrations to receive new white elephants and great names were invented for them, such as Upopron mwan, Ratanapronmwan, Nagawara, Ratanakumud, Upothwat khon, Warasetagiri, Bhattawati, Siri mallamahasubhatta and Nibbana paccaya nagaraja. Furthermore, English scholar and administrator Arthur Phayre mentioned in his 'History of Burma' that Bodawpaya probably considered the possession of a perfect white male elephant the greatest glory of his reign. This animal, caught in the forests of Pegu, was received at court with honors worthy of an object of worship.¹⁹⁷

Since the gaining of the possession of the throne, King Bodawpaya assumed various titles especially that of Hsin Phyu Shin. Considering these facts, it is no wonder why the author Letwe Nawrahta gave his treatise the title Hsin Phyu Shin Ayedawbon.

There is a note at the end of the manuscript stating that it was compiled by Letwe Nawrahta, and that it covers the years Myanmar Era 1143 (1781/1782) to M.E. 1148 (1787). The text gives in some details the following important historical records compiled by a contemporary minister Letwe Nawrahta:

3.7.7.1. Crushing of rebellions at the beginning of the king's reign

The great founder of the Konboun dynasty King Alaungpaya, on his deathbed, enjoined all his six sons by the chief queen to succeed to the throne in the order of their seniority. This declaration later engendered succession problems and instabilities in the country. However, we have not found the evidence yet.

The eldest son, King Naungdawgyi succeeded the throne and had one son named Maung Maung. The king ruled the country for only 3 years and died suddenly in 1763. Maung Maung was a child at the time of his father's death. Myaydu min (Hsin Phyu Shin), the second son of King Alaungpaya, ascended the throne. This king didn't follow the rule of succession laid down by his father and gave the throne

¹⁹⁶ Daw Kyan, 'Maung Laut, Maung Ywa, Maung Waing do a-kyaung', *Padauk New*, no.6 (June 2006), p. 24

¹⁹⁷ Arthur Purves Phayre, 'History of Burma,' *Orchid Press, Bangkok, Thailand*, p. 230.

to his son, Singu min. When Maung Maung came of age, he ventured to gain the possession of the palace at one night and dethroned Singu min.

When Maung Maung restricted the movement of his uncles, Badon prince¹⁹⁸, the fifth son of King Alaungpaya, seized the throne with his twelve trusted servants and put Maung Maung to death (after six days' reign). King Bodawpaya also executed the fun loving Singu min and all his followers, including queens to death.

About that time, plots began to be formed against him. One, said to have been supported by General Maha Thihathura, had for its object to place Sitha prince on the throne. The old general, who had long led the Myanmar armies to victory, was executed.

Another conspiracy was headed by Nga Shon, a native of Maung Khaing town in Shan state. He named himself Min Ye Myat Phone and pretended to be a son of the last king of Innwa, who had been carried away as prisoner to Hanthawadi by the Talaing king. He found a few followers of Maung Maung and a band of Shans ready to support him. They boldly scaled the wall of the palace in the dead of night. The palace guards were panic-stricken by the suddenness of the attack. The conspirators gained possession of the guns and powder in the palace-yard and opened fire at the palace. King Badon defended from within the palace and as soon as it became daylight, they were seized and put to death. Nga Phone for the time escaped, but was speedily taken. Hundreds of people, who had been privy to the conspiracy, were executed.

3.7.7.2. Detailed account of the first founding of the new capital, Amarapura, the 'Immortal City'.

Saddened by the scene of slaughter within the palace and the bloodshed caused by Nga Phone's rebellion, the king planned to move his capital from Innwa to Amarapura (immortal city). Letwe Nawrahta had to search for a site and managed to establish a new city. All the following details are described by the author in his Ayedawbon:

- indicating the propitious time for establishing a city,
- finding brick and wood,
- driving in a stake to mark off the ground plan,

¹⁹⁸ king Bodawpaya

- reciting Sutta to ward off evil,
- burying stone box inside of which contained cabalistic diagram together with 4 big earthen pots full of oil,
- using 30,000,000 bricks,
- demarcating the boundary of the city,
- the breadth and length of the moat,
- the 12 city main gates,
- the 34 alphabets inscribed on the Mawgun post at the gate,
- the style of writing these Mawguns, etc.

3.7.7.3. Accounts of the two beiktheik coronation ceremonies of 1783 and 1784, which Letwe Nawrahta had to plan and organize according to traditional practice.

Letwe Nawrahta organized Raja bhiseka coronation ceremony and records all the details of the ceremony. First, mandarin couple prepared the offerings with Manaw tray for the king to donate at the pagoda. After that, the king entered the raja-bhiseka hall of the palace and was welcome by the Brahmins. In entering the hall, the king had to lift his right foot first and walk. While the Brahmins were chanting the Zaya Mingalar gahta, the king recited the Buddha's eight glorious victories gahta and ascended the water fig plank gilded with gold. Brahmins then open the umbrella and offer five regalia to the king. Finally, Bhiseka water was poured down on the king's head.

On the 2nd full-moon day of Nayon month in ME 1145 (1783), the king took the Muddha bhiseka. In fact, king Bodawpaya undertook Muddha bhiseka twice, first in ME 1145 (1783) and second ME 1146 (1784). The cause for undertaking the second Muddha bhiseka was that the year 1146 coincided with the Gautama kein (number or predestined event) came to pass once in a thousand year. After the second bhiseka, the work of merit made by the king was to build 1000 hollow stupa and in each stupa, was relics enshrined.

There were fourteen different bhiseka or abhiseka¹⁹⁹ and that the Muddha beiktheik is the most important of all. There is a general belief that if a king did not

¹⁹⁹ Myanmar had more than one kind of bhiseka. For instance there were the

attempt it, he should not be named as king, nor assume titles and acquire the term 'Maha Raja'. His power and glory will surely be dwindled. Only if he had undertaken it, he could take care of the religion, consecrate ground for an ordination hall and attend Hluttaw to make judgments. And the country will prosper.

Letwe Nawrahta made active preparation for the coronation of the king. At the conclusion of all these elaborate preparations, the king and queen clad in splendid robes of celestial being, proceeded on a jeweled palanquin towards the Mingalar pandal. On arrival, the Primate and twelve pundits brought the pitakat preached by the lord Buddha while 108 venerable monks recited *sutta* to ward off evil at the same time. The king bathed himself and seated on the water fig plank gilded with gold. Eight princesses, Brahmins and wealthy persons each poured from the clockwise conch studded with nine gems the 5 kinds of water including one from the Ganges River over his head. Thus, it is so named as Muddha Bhiseka.

The princesses then administered the oath: 'Oh king, in order to guard and protect all the people in accord with the Raja Dhama rule, this bhiseka water is poured. May you keep ten virtues of the king well. Treat people as they were your own sons and may the karuna flower be blossomed. Love and defend all the people in accord with the rules of Yaikarwarana, Guti, etc. By virtue of the water pouring

a) <i>muddha-bhiseka</i>	<i>anointing of the head</i>
b) <i>mahesi-bhiseka</i>	<i>the coronation of the Chief Queen</i>
c) <i>uparaja-bhiseka</i>	<i>the installation of the Crown Prince</i>
d) <i>jeyya-bhiseka</i>	<i>in order to win victories</i>
e) <i>mangala bhiseka</i>	<i>held to celebrate the possession of white</i>
<i>elephants</i>	
f) <i>siriya-bhiseka</i>	<i>to renew one's glory</i>
g) <i>ayudigha-bhiseka</i>	<i>consecration to gain long life</i>
h) <i>maha-bhiseka</i>	<i>celebrated to increase prosperity</i>
i) <i>sakala-bhiseka</i>	<i>held to ensure peace in the Empire</i>

Of these, the raja-bhiseka, which may be synonymous with muddha-bhiseka, was to be held 5 years after accession, maha-bhiseka 7 years after accession, jeyya-bhiseka 9 years after accession, sakala-bhiseka 12 years after accession, while siriya-bhiseka and ayudigha-bhiseka were to be celebrated from time to time." Sunait Chutintaranond, 'Cakravartin, p.207.

ceremony, which we have just performed, may the power and glory of the king be increased and enjoyed a long and happy life.

Likewise, Brahmins and wealthy persons took turn administering the oaths in the same manner. Afterwards, the king took hold of the gold beaker studded with nine jewels and made a vow:

“Owing to the innumerable accumulated merits equivalent of 24000 layers of earth, I happened to be a great king dwelling in the golden palace which was equally marvelous as the palatial mansion of celestial beings. I shall observe raja-wimala ten virtues of king. I shall protect properties and possession of my subjects. May I myself be rich and enjoy a long life. May aggressors from all ten directions be defeated. May many different princesses and white elephants arrive and may the king's power, glory and grace be greatly enhanced day by day.”

There are also detailed accounts of royal appurtenances which were displayed according to custom both to the left and to the right of the main throne, and about the court dresses, crowns and so on.

3.7.7.4. Despatching of scholars (including Hindu Brahmin Ponna, court astrologers) to India and other countries to search for secular texts on medicine, law, astrology, and so on. (Many were later translated into Myanmar.)

King Bodawpaya's reign saw a great increase of secular knowledge with the acquisition of Sanskrit works from India and widespread contacts with neighboring countries. Siamese romances, Pali Jatakas, Chinese histories, Siamese and Cambodian chronicles, a history of Portugal, a Sanskrit work on sexual science were studied and translated into Myanmar.

As King Bodawpaya was not satisfied with only worshipping the three gems (pitakats), he wished to learn various Loki kyans (treatises on secular affairs): therein he ordered Letwe Nawrahta to ask Maung Htaung abbot. The venerable abbot said; “*the treatises on secular affairs were not existent in Myanmar these days. If desired, suitable Brahmins should be sent to Bengal, Calcutta and Naga Dipa for the purpose of copying these treatises. Only then, the king's wish will be fulfilled.*”

On the 3rd waxing day of Wah Gaung month in ME 1146 (1784), learned Brahmins were dispatched to Bengal region to copy Loki kyans (treatises on secular affairs) written in Sanskrit. Letwe Nawrahta supervised matters relating to which

treatises should be copied, who should be selected for that matter and who should be sent as scholars. It was the first Myanmar mission to go abroad sponsored by the State in the Konboun era. The mission arrived back in the month of Nayon in ME 1147 (1785). The treatises brought back by the mission were on grammar, Pali verses (Hsan kyan), astronomy, and medicine. These treatises were translated into Myanmar by Maung Htaung abbot and they have been widely used up to the present day.

3.7.7.5. Collecting data and compiling a list of various officials, artisans, merchants, etc., and their descendants

On the 3rd waxing day of Pyatho month in ME 1145 (1783), the process of registering the kingdom (later known as Bodaw sittan or revenue inquest), showing the number of families in each territory, with their respective boundaries, started. It is similar to collecting census. The process begins with Depeyin Township. The datas were recorded on the bud of toddy palm-leaf and parabaik (folding book). Regional offices were constructed to keep these records safe.

'*Tain*' in Myanmar means territory. In other words, *Tain* is the unit of measure for distance (one thousand *Tar* or approximately two miles.) It includes the population dwelling in that particular territory, a number of household in certain village or town, pristine forests and uninhabited lands. Data was collected in more than 5000 *Tain*.

3.7.7.6. The campaign to successfully conquer Rakhine, giving the military routes, battles and so on

Towards the end of the dynasty, Rakhine was in turmoil. The state of that kingdom was so terrible that even foreign interference was accepted as promising relief from greater evil. Discontented nobles from Rakhine had flocked to Innwa, beseeching aid to restore order. As Singu min had no desire to send warlike expeditions to anywhere, he simply ignored to these applications.

Also, in Bodawpaya's reign, the king was invited to occupy the Rakhine throne. Thus, in 1784, Bodawpaya made ample preparations for the conquest of Rakhine. An army of twenty thousand men, two thousand five hundred horses, and over two hundred elephants, was assembled at and near Amarapura. It was composed

of four divisions, three of which were to march on Rakhine by land. The fourth would proceed by sea.

The three divisions which formed the land columns were under the command of the king's three sons, the crown prince, who was also commander in chief, Thado Mengzoa, and Kama Min. The flotilla of armed vessels was placed under Nemyo Kyohteng and Tarabya, a Talaing officer.

The army first advanced to Taungup and then marched on to Sandoway. After occupying these two towns, it proceeded against Ramri Island where they encountered with the enemy led by a son of Rakhine king. In the battle, the Rakhine army was totally routed. At Laungkrek, the Rakhine fleet was also defeated and there being no adequate means for the defence of the capital, the king fled to the place called 'Kon Chaung Kyun Thar Yar', south of Mrauk U. The Myanmar army entered the city and the Rakhine king was brought in a prisoner a month afterwards.

3.7.7.7. Records of the conveying of the much venerated Maha Muni Buddha Image from the Rakhine capital to Amarapura, giving in detail the dates, the different stages²⁰⁰ and the veneration ceremonies at the capital and many other informative details.

The Myanmar army advanced on Rakhine on the 4th waxing day of Tazaungmon, ME 1146 (1784). Before the march, the king asked whether the king's sons should lead the army to invest Rakhine. When the Brahmins and pundits counseled that they should not be sent to Rakhine, the king grew furious and ordered to punish them but later, they were pardoned.

The king issued a royal edict for the army that any buffalo, cow, pig or chicken from towns and villages along the route to Rakhine should not be taken without the consent of the people - not even a single fruit or vegetable.

The author Letwe Nawrahta accompanied Crown Prince Thado Minsaw on the campaign in Rakhine. On his return journey in 1785, he undertook the onerous task of bringing the Maha Muni Buddha image to Amarapura. It is said that this image was cast in Rakhine in the exact likeness of Lord Buddha during King Canda Thuriya's rule in 554 BCE.

²⁰⁰ halting places

According to San Shwe Bu, there are supposed to be five Munis altogether. They are: Sakya-Muni, Canda-Muni, Cula-Muni²⁰¹, Maha-Muni and Dussa-Muni. The first is to be found at Kapilavastu, now in the Nepalese Tarai. The second is at Kosala, modern Oudh. The third is in the Tavatimsa region. The fourth is in Rakhine²⁰². The fifth is in the Brahma region.

In carrying the sacred image of Maha Muni, a team of 5000 men advanced first to clear the path followed by the main labor force. The author vividly described the difficult journey transporting the huge image through passes of known and unknown mountain ranges.

Stations along the water and land routes in transporting the huge image of Maha Muni from Dhanyawadi by forest minister Thiri Dewa Kyaw Thu, commander Nga Po Gyi, Set-mi-kyaw group 1000 guns, Kala blacksmith Nga Tan Pu, White ship captain, Attwinwun Naymyo Zayathu and Bo Mu Taung Talonesar were thus:

On the 13th waxing day of Tapotwe month in ME 1146 (1784), the image was taken out from the cave and placed on the cart. It was then carried by boat. On the 15th day of that month, they reached the army stationed at the confluence of rivers. On the 6th day of the same month, they arrived at Taungup. From Taungup to Paung Taung, they crossed the passes of 138 mountains and a lot of unknown mountain ranges. On the 5th waxing day of Kason month in ME 1147 (1785), they reached at the royal raft jetty in Amarapura.

In Bagan period, attempt by King Anawrahta to bring this ponderous image to Myanmar proper met with failure. The great national image of Rakhine was sent across the mountains by the Taungup pass; was received by the king with great honour; and was set up in a 3 tiered building specially erected for it to the north of the city.

3.7.7.8. Crushing of rebellion by Nga Sat and Nga Kwe in Yangon

On the 8th waxing day of Wah Gaung month in ME 1145 (1783), Nga Sat and Nga Kwe revolted in Yangon and the army marched on that city. The rebels with the strength of over 200 followers and 50 boats raided the town and killed the governor Maha Kyaw Htin. Panic-stricken people ran amok and concealed themselves, so it

²⁰¹ *Sulamuni*

²⁰² *now in Myanmar*

took some time for the army to suppress the rebellion. This event, however, was not mentioned in Konbougset Maha Yazawindawgyi.

3.8. Conclusion

Myanmar literature is mostly composed as poems. Alongside stone inscriptions, they are a major source from the 15th century to 19th century. Most of them can be classified as subsidiary sources for Myanmar historiography.

In the middle of the sixteenth century Binnya Dala, a Mon officer at the court of king Bayinnaung, translated the Rajadirit Ayedawbon from Mon into Burmese. With its rich details and fine narrative in prose, the Ayedawbon which is a kind of Mein Kampf – a biography of a king, his struggle to power and his struggle to retain it after he had achieved it, must have contributed greatly to the historical writing of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁰³

Ayedawbon treatises are the work of Myanmar literati who weave the intricate but vivid events of their times into literary works which reflect the shared history of Siam and Myanmar, especially warfare between the two countries. Thus, to work out a detailed study on Ayedawbon treatises which provide contemporary accounts useful to understand in the context of Siam-Myanmar relations from mid-16th to mid-19th century would be of use to Thai studies.

²⁰³ Tin Ohn, *Modern Historical Writing in Burmese, 1724-1942, Indigenous Writings*, p 86

CHAPTER IV: TRANSLATION OF SELECTED AYEDAWBON TREATISES

4.1. Introduction

Ayedawbon treatise is basically a detailed record of the campaign waged by one person. It matters not whether he is successful in his endeavor. History has shown that there were many brave persons when struggled for their causes eventually gained possession of the throne but others such as Princes Myingon and Myinkhontaung's Ayedawbon, ended up in utter failure. It records military campaigns waged by one king to expand territories or make his influence felt by neighboring countries and invariably includes a plethora of military strategies and tactics to be applied in war. Apart from these, Ayedawbon could be the record of the achievements of great kings such as building of a new royal palace or city, constructing and repairing of pagodas, propagating the Buddha Sasana, etc.

There are about seven Ayedawbon kyans or treatises but only five can be classified by Myanmar historians as prominent.

Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon

Rajadirit Ayedawbon

Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon

Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon

Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbon

These five Ayedawbon texts were first printed together in 1923 with a collective title Ayedawbon Nga Saung Twe, by the Thudhamawadi Press of Yangon. Since then there have been later editions of these collective Ayedawbon texts, enlarged from the original five to six after another version of the Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon was found in the National Library of Myanmar, and published in 1961 by the Ministry of Culture.

The remaining two Ayedawbon Kyans are Majjhimadesa Ayedawbon and Hsin Phyu Shin Ayedawbon. However, they pose some problems in coming to be defined as Ayedawbon.

The following are the English translations of the sections concerning Siam from the four Ayedawbon treatises namely Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon, Rajadirit Ayedawbon, Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon and Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon.

4.2 Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon

Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon is the work of venerable monk Kawisara of Than Dwe (Sandoway). It is part I in the Myanmar Min Mya Ayedawbon or Collection of 6 Ayedawbons published by Natha publishing house in 1967. It deals with some events in Rakhine from 15th to 18th centuries.

The following is the translation of section concerning Siam which tells about the fall of Hanthawadi in 1599 followed by the invasion of Siamese King Naresuan. It forms the portion taking pages 105 to 108 of this Ayedawbon.

.....The incident that took place during the reign of King Min Yaza Gyi, son of King Min Pa Laung is that when the king ascended the throne, he gave his brother Saw Hla Chittagaung town to eat as an appanage. Within a year, Saw Hla made an alliance with the king of Thet²⁰⁴ tribe: Kaung Hla Phyu, and other tribes of Myon and Linke' to compass conspiracy against the king. In ME 944 (1582), the king himself led the army and marched on to quell the uprising. King's brother Saw Hla who did not dare to rival against the king came into submission. When the King arrived Dhaka from Chittagaung, he got angry with the leader of Indians De Wun Na

²⁰⁴ "Thet: one of the nationalities of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar speaking Thet-Myanmar and mainly inhabiting the northern part of the Rakhine State", from Myanmar-English Dictionary, printed by Yarpyi, No.38, 109 st , Manglataungnyut Tsp, Yangon, page 346.

Pat for breach of loyalty and ordered to castrate 100 persons to serve in Mo Lei²⁰⁵ Aso²⁰⁶ (group).

Like his father, the king gave Chittagaung to Minister Maha Pyinya Kyaw and Yaung Phyu town to Kyee Nyo, son of Maha Pyinya Kyaw, as appanages. He ordered his son De Ka to administer Mauk Thuzar (Cox bazaar) and from thence to rule over Indian 12 cities. After making such appointments, the king returned to Rakhine in the month of Tapotwe in ME 942 (?). Afterwards, King of Taungoo sent Governors of Kyee Taung and Katha with a great variety of presents and palm-leaves gilded with gold which said: help the fight to conquer Pegu. If obtained, His Majesty would receive the Pegu princess, daughter of the king and a white elephant. After hearing the proposal, the king agreed to invest and ordered westward Bengal 12 cities, King of Thet tribe Kaung Hla Phyu, Governors of Linke' and Myon, eaters of villages and hamlets to be ready with troops and weaponry. For the naval campaign, ships from 12 Indian cities were to sail for Rakhine. As for the land campaign, Governors of Thet, Myon, Myo and Linke' with full provisions and weapons were to advance on Rakhine, leaving the wise men behind to guard their respective towns and villages.

While the march was in progress, the king looked for 'Sa-nei'²⁰⁷ among the populace. A song sung by young lads while rowing the boat in Isna-nadi Lay-Myo River was *"the white elephant's behind breaks and the umbrella-bearing king of Bago will come into submission."*

When Minister Maha Pyinyarkyaw was called upon to interpret the meaning, he said that there was an old precedence in treatises saying that if and when necessary, kings who were on friendly terms should render assistance to each other. The content of the palm-leaf sent by the king of Taungoo is to shine the glory of his Majesty for long. According to the song sung by young lads, the matter would end without much difficulty.

²⁰⁵ "class of eunuchs consigned to look after the royal harem" from *Myanmar-English Dictionary*, printed by Yarpyi, No.38, 109 st, Manglataungnyut Tsp, Yangon, page 346.

²⁰⁶ "group of workmen of the same trade or occupation in the service of the king" from *Myanmar-English Dictionary*, printed by Yarpyi, No.38, 109 st, Manglataungnyut Tsp, Yangon, page 552-553.

²⁰⁷ In Myanmar 'Sa-nei nar' means to go among the populace noting down tabaung, crises and sayings portending something auspicious or ominous.

The armies that marched on this occasion were thus: commanders of the army on the left with 20,000 troops, were eater of Kaladan, Minister Saw Nu and Governor of Htone, Minister Ye Aung Naing; the commanders of the army on the right with yet another 20,000 troops were eater of Taray Minister Gamani and Governor of Myochaung, Commander of 10,000 Kaman archers was eater of Taungup Governor Yan Myo Aung, commander of 10,000 swords and lances was eater of Than Taung Governor Tone Nyo, commander of 10,000 troops bearing shields was eater of Ann, Minister Tuyin Thu and commander of 30,000 Thet troops was the king of Thet tribe Kaung Hla Phyu. The leader of all these 100,000 vanguard troops including court mandrians and king of Thet tribe was Minister²⁰⁸ Dhama Thawka.

50,000 Indian troops from Bengal 12 cities including 300 war ships were under the command of minister Manuha²⁰⁹ commander of elephantry. With these naval forces, the Minister stationed at Maw Sanwa, Pashu Island and guarded every islet and every mouth of rivulets.

The king's army consisted of an aggregate of 10,000 troops, including the host on the left with the strength of 30,000 troops, the army on the right also 30,000 strong, 10,000 troops carrying black shields, 10,000 Thet troops and 20,000 troops carrying matchlocks and shields.

50,000 troops including 30,000 Kanyan troops and 20,000 Indian troops carrying matchlocks, flintlocks and shields were under the command of the Prince of the front palace Min Ka Maung and eater of Sein Tin, Oggapyan. They were sent through Mawtin creek to Thanlynn.

In ME 960 (1598), on the eleventh waxing day in the month of Tazaungmon, the king marched on Bago. When the minister Dhama Thawka's army arrived at Mottama, the army on the left with 10,000 troops under the command of the eater of Kaladan Saw Nu was stationed at Kyungyi town, east of Mottama. The army on the right with 10,000 troops under the eater of Taray established camp at Kyon Kyon Kya. Another 10,000 troops from the same unit under eater of Myo Thit pitched camp at Alantin creek. 10,000 troops under eater of Thantaung Htone Nyo stationed at raft jetty. From Myayarwadi town, northeast of Mottama to Kamarkalao hill, 30,000

²⁰⁸ *Ko yan gyi*

²⁰⁹ *Hsin ke' gyi*

troops under Thet King Kaung Hla Phyu were deployed. After the forces of the Prince of the front palace overran the city of Cyrim (Thanlynn), the prince's army halted and stationed themselves there. The King Min Yaza marched on Bago and set up camp at Hintha Zainganai, west of Bago and besieged the town. King of Bago abdicated the throne and fled to Taungoo.

At a time when the Siamese King Bya Narit (Naresuan) with his vast army marched on Bago, King of Taungoo had already returned to Taungoo. Therein King Naresuan went up to Taungoo and laid siege to the town. Owing to a lack of provision, however, the King of Siam had to retreat from Taungoo and when they were on the route back to Siam; King of Thet tribe mounted an attack on the Siamese army. In the battle, brother of King Bya Narit (Naresuan) was captured alive and later he was sent to King Min Yaza. So also in the sea battle, Rakhine naval forces demolished the sea borne forces from Siam and captured a large quantity of ordnance and prisoners of war. The Siamese King's brother was well treated and as a ransom, the king of Rakhine received 3,000 matchlocks and flintlocks, big cannons, one cannon named Byarata-than, brass images of Bya Thadi Yazar (Maha Chakkraphat) and his queen, venerable abbot of the Siamese king, Erawon elephant, Lord Rama, Hanuman and snake charmer from Siamese capital. As promised King of Taungoo sent princess Shin Dwe NOUNG, daughter of King of Bago and a retinue of 300 maids of honor, a large quantity of white and black elephants, gold, silver, fine cloths, big canons, matchlocks and flintlocks. The king carried off 3000 Siamese families and 30000 Taliang families, making a total of 33000.

The Thanlynn town with its sea port was given to Nga Inga, son of king's grandfather Min Ba Gyi as an appanage. After leaving Nga Inga to garrison the town, the king returned to the capital in ME 963 (1601). Minister Maha Pyinya Kyaw died on the return journey when the army reached a place called 'Mawtin'. There, the grand funeral rites were performed for the minister and the king built a stupa on the funeral mound of the minister. That stupa is still called 'Mawtin Cettiya' to this day. When back at the capital, in addition to musical Aso or group, the Saimese families were allotted into eight groups such as Kywe Tae service group, Kywe- ma-thi service group, Razagyo service group, South-wing service group, Myo-thit service group, Hymaing service group, Taungoo service group, Kyon-kaung service group and were

settled at Bwe-Tar island, east of Kiswa-nadi river, Taungyin island, Pe' island, west of the river, Uraz-Taung island, Mayoe island and Yamaung island. 3000 Taliangs were placed in the elephantry service and were settled at Ngazin-yaing Island. Siamese musicians and artistes were kept under the patronage of ministers, royal pages and thway thouts²¹⁰.

4.3 Rajadirit Ayedawbon

Rajadirit Ayedawbon is translated from Mon historical text into Myanmar by court minister Banyada. It forms part II (pages 143 to 318) of Myanmar Min Mya Ayedawbon. It is about Wareru dynasty and the struggle of King Rajadirit. The section relating to Siam in this Ayedawbon forms the portion taking pages 144-161 and 222. It concerns the interactions between the early kingdoms of Siam and the Mon Kingdoms in Ramanya desa.

Rajadirit Ayedawbon is translated from Mon historical text into Myanmar by court minister Banyada. It forms part II (pages 143 to 318) of Myanmar Min Mya Ayedawbon. It is about Wareru dynasty and the struggle of King Rajadirit. The section relating to Siam in this Ayedawbon forms the portion taking pages 144-161 and 222. It concerns the interactions between the early kingdoms of Siam and the Mon Kingdoms in Ramanya desa.

..... Our exalted embryo lord of Gotama, when incarnated as Thumayda ascetics in one of his life cycles, offered his prostrated person to be trodden on as a bridge by Lord Dipakara. Foreseeing ensuing events by the power of omniscience, the Lord prophesized that this monk would become Gotama Buddha. After hearing the prophecy, the monk started practicing the ten paramittas²¹¹, the thirty paramittas, and the five relinquishes from that life. Consequently, the bodistava came down from Tusita abode of angels to Kapilavasu and was conceived in the womb of Thiri Maha Maya, queen of Suddhodhana. When it came to the tenth month the Bodistava was delivered from his mother's womb. Walking seven steps to the north, he called out one verse "I am supreme among men. I am the greatest." At the age of 16, he was

²¹⁰ blood brothers

²¹¹ "Parami- "perfection". The ten perfections are almsgiving, morality, renunciation, wisdom, energy, patience, truth, resolution, kindness and resignation. These are subdivided into ordinary, inferior and unlimited thus making thirty." from Mr. R. Holiday, *A History of Kings*, JBRS 1923, 13:1,1-67, p. 120.

wedded to princess Yasodara and enjoyed his domestic life for 29 years. On the day his son Rahula was born, he saw the four signs on his way back from the royal garden. Apprehended at the prospect of a continuum of rebirths, he mounted his steed Gandhaka and, accompanied by the slave Chanda, he retired to the forest as a recluse. After crossing the brook Anuma, Brahma brought down the monk's robe in the Anupiya forest. He cut off the hair with a four-edged dagger and threw it up into the sky. Indra took it up and built a pagoda in Tavatimsa abode of angels. It was called the Culamuni and is still there to this day.

He changed out of the garments he had worn from home, and into the robe brought by Brahma and entered monkhood. After practicing austerities for 6 years, he partook of the forty nine portion of milk rice offered in a golden tray by Sujata at the foot of Ajapala banyan. He then took the golden tray to the stream Niranjara, made a vow and pitched the tray. It went upstream like a duck.

From there, he reached the Bodi-banyan and spread out the eight handfuls of dubba grass given by the youth Tinnapad. There sprung up the Buddha throne and there he ensconced himself. Soon afterwards, the hosts of Mara arrived. The bodhisattva thought of the ten paramittas long practiced by him, and the hosts of Mara were totally routed. On the full moon day (Wednesday) of Kason month, he obtained Sammasam-bodinyana and attained Buddha-hood.

Forty nine days from his becoming the Buddha in Rajayatana, Buddha partook of honey rice balls offered by Phussa and Bhandika and handed them eight hair relics. Upon these a pagoda was constructed, on the peak of Singhuttara hill. The cedi is the famed Dagon Hair Relics Pagoda. An arahat named Gamwunpati by means of his supernatural intellect came into the knowledge of his mother's rebirth as a man in the country of Thaton. He journeyed thence through his power of levitation and gave the prophecy to the King Tiri Maha Thawka.

On beholding the monk, waves of overwhelming reverence washed over the king. He besought the arahat to invite the Lord so that he may pay obeisance to Him. Gamwunpati then betook once more to the air and requested the Buddha accordingly. So it was that the Lord Buddha came to Thaton and delivered a sermon to its king and people. A large donation ceremony was held that lasted seven days.

Thereafter, Lord Buddha reached a place called Mawtamaw wherein dwelt ogres. Initially, the ogres planned to assail their visitor. Later, however, Thumana the ogre yielded and laid out a pallid stone mat to accommodate Lord Buddha, screened the sunlight with leaves of the sal tree, offered fruit juice and a variety of flowers. Foreseeing events yet to transpire, Lord Buddha prophesized that in this place, Thumana ogre would come into the possession of a white elephant.

According to the prophecy of Lord Buddha, there were many dynastic rulers. At one time King Narapati Sithu made a circuit of his country by ancient royal boat and reached Da-myaing-pawa. He made Mawtamaw a town and gave his slave Alima to eat as an appanage and went back. In later years, the name Mawtamaw was changed to Mottama.

After passing from one existence to another, Thumana Ogre became a man in a place called Dewun. Magadu was his name and his sister was called Hnin U Yaing. When he came of age, he led thirty merchants and went to Thawkate²¹². During their journey, one merchant was injured at the foot of the Pagoda hill. Magadu carried the load of that injured person. When reaching the summit, the unseasonal rain pelted down heavily and the lightning struck the shoulder yoke of Magadu. As he looked back and saw a many tiered, spire-like golden roof²¹³ within the flash of lightening. Seeing this, he bore in mind that he had the cumulative result of past meritorious deeds. Thirty marchants suffered no harm and when darkness descended, they slept at the mountain side. The place was called Nigon village and after investigation, Magadu found Saw Panate a skilled practitioner, who could interpret signs of coming events. Magadu brought largesse to him and related all the incidents and omens. Saw Panate said that this presage was quite profound and that he would interpret it only when Magadu gave a heap of money as high as his height. As he was also a man of wit, after racking his brain, he put the money worth thirty on the mound²¹⁴ as high as his height and asked for the interpretation. Seeing this, Saw Panate deduced that Magadu possessed great glory and power. He also had a keen intellect. His destiny would be in accordance with the omen. Therein, he said that from that day onwards,

²¹² *Sukothai*

²¹³ *pja tha (or) tiers*

²¹⁴ *small hill*

he should not do the work of buying and selling things, but attends on the king. For within that year he would become king.

On reaching Thawkate', he lived by selling merchandise brought from his land. After purchasing commodities, the thirty subordinate merchants went back; but Magadu stayed behind in Thawkate' per the pandit's instruction. Since he had not attire appropriate for royal attendance in the palace of king like others, he served under the keeper of royal elephants. Upon seeing him, the keeper took to him and pitied on him. Day in and day out, he applied himself to the task of feeding the elephants, sweeping and cleaning their dung such that not a speck of dirt could be found. One day, the king of Thawkate came over to the elephant stable. When he saw Magadu's persistent effort, he inquired the keeper about Magadu. The keeper replied that he was a native of Taliang and came to wait on him. The king ordered the keeper to give Magadu sufficient clothes, not worn-out. The keeper willingly obliged as he had affection for Magadu. Magadu managed all the works of the stable regardless of day or night and took not a moment's rest. Then the king paid another visit to the stable and he saw Magadu again. As the king took out his chewed betel leaf and cleaned up his palate, he saw a cowrie emerge from the earth. Whereat, he called Magadu and showed it. Magadu did obeisance and picked up the cowrie. When the king returned, Magadu pondered: the king called him to give this little cowrie- it must have been a test for his resourcefulness. Then he went to a bazaar and purchased some lettuce seeds. Flippantly, the seller said that she could not assess the value of lettuce seeds for a cowrie and allowed him to take as much seeds as he could carry with his fore finger. Magadu devised a plan. He sodden his finger by putting it into the mouth and poked it into a heap of lettuce seeds. He got many seeds and the seller praised his wisdom. Having received the seeds, Magadu cast them over dug-up earth, mixed with elephant dung and watered daily.

Owing to his diligence, all seeds grew quickly and became well formed and stout, some white and some red. When the king came to see the elephants, Magadu picked out the plumpest, cleaned them thoroughly with water and offered to the king. The king then asked where he got these from. Magadu said that he bought some seeds with a cowrie and planted them. The king was so pleased that he appointed him as chef de cuisine of the royal household. Magadu took many pains to oversee all the

cooks without sleeping a wink. Satisfactorily, the king made him the captain of the guard. He poured all his heart and soul into his work. His ability was so unique that the king conferred on him a title: "Saw".

At that time Kala Zawa king encroached upon the frontier areas. The king marched on both land and sea routes with his vast army. Magadu was left to command the guard and to garrison the town. As he had served frequently within and without the palace, he became acquainted with Princess Myi Hnin Thwe dar, daughter of the king and they love each other to bit. In after times, there were widespread rumours of their affairs. Well-wishers of Magadu said a word of caution that it was not a proper thing for him to do. If the king knew of this, his life would be in danger. Afearred at these words, Magadu consulted the princess. The princess said that if Magadu could find a way to escape, and take her with a light-footed female elephant, she would be a willing partner in the elopement. Putting much gold and silver on the back of the elephant, Magadu eloped with the princess accompanied by 70 shield bearing slaves and 200 fellow in arms. From Da Myaing Pawa they reached Dewun, a native town of Magadu. The king of Thawkate' sent troops in pursuit of them but they could not reach them. The thirty subordinate merchants of old also came to serve as slaves.

Magadu became king in Dewun and treated the people with loving kindness, as if they were his own sons. On consulting the pandits, they told him that King Alima of Mottama had glory and power. Taking a long term view, it would be best to forge an alliance with this king. Magadu, having a great deal of wisdom, planned to first give his sister Hnin U Yaing to Alima and make friends with him. Then, at the opportune time, he would kill him. He sent many largesse including golden bowl and excellent longyis. King Alima also returned the embassy with presents. Exchange of embassies took place frequently that no water ran out and fire extinguished on the journey between the two countries. Both countries were peaceful, calm and untroubled.

Desirious of seeing her, King Alima together with fishermen, took a boat to cast net. While casting net to catch fish, Hnin U Yaing came with a retinue of chaperons, nursemaids and female personal attendents to a bathing spot in the river. Alima was besotted by her and asked for her hand. Therein, Magadu sent Hnin U Yaing with their mother. King Alima built a big pavilion on the Taunglwe' sand bank

for food and drinks at a victory feast. He plotted with his slaves to murder Magadu and his entourage when intoxicated. When Magadu's mother knew this, she transmitted the secret to Magadu. On hearing this, Magadu instructed his soldiers that at the feast, they should feign drinking. He would say *ma za* when Alima's slaves were inebriated; if he should say *moh zon* (wait), they should eat cooked rice; if he said *mat zat*, it was the signal to hew them all.

Riding on an elephant, King Alima welcomed Magadu to the pavilion and they drank together. Magadu knew his entire plot. When the sun set and the tide rose to the brink of the bank, he said *moh zon* and his slaves ate cooked rice. And when he uttered *mat zat*, they hacked them all into pieces. Alima attempted to run away with an elephant but could not escape. Magadu's slaves caught him and murdered him. As his corpse was buried in the Taunglwe' sand bank, it is called Alima sandy shore to this day.

In ME 643 (1281), Magadu seized Mottama. With the advice of the monk and bhramins well versed in astrology, he built a rest-house and had a Dhamathat compiled. It was called Wareru Dhamathat because he later adopted the title 'Waru'. He then made efforts to construct a town. After consulting with the pandits, he scoured the area for the city. In so doing, they first met a tiger and the pandit predicted that this town would have power and glory but there would be many wars. When found a boa constrictor, they foretold that the city would become a port.

When twenty-one planets appeared in conjunction with the full moon on the waxing day (Thursday) of Tapotwe' in ME 649 (1287), city posts were laid down. The pandits saw that there would be a war and a white elephant would arrive. Hearing this, Magadu said that the king like himself should not avoid the war. If war arrived, it could be overcome by taking measures in accordance with the four deeds derived from the benefits of knowledge. He would prefer adopting the title ' possessor of a white elephant'.

Magadu sent a minister named *Lawki* with a great variety of presents to the King of Thawkate' and asked for a title, white umbrella and royal regalia. King of Thawkate' was so pleased to hear of it and consulted with the mandrians. The king arrived at the opinion that he raised Magadu, and therefore he was his slave and his wife was the King's daughter. The characteristic of the title indicates the sequence of

royal lineage. He himself adopted the title of the king who illuminates the sky. As Magadu was his decendent, he should adopt the title 'Thu Waru'²¹⁵. The king of Thawkate' delivered a crown, white umbrella and five regalia with the minister.

The most propitious time for establishing the city was when twenty one planets appeared in conjunction with the full moon on the waxing day (Thursday) of Tapotwe in ME 649 (1287). On that day, an ill-fated woman with pregnancy who vied with her husband in proud defiance would arrive at a pit near the city gate. The persons, who waited for the favourable time, pushed her down into the pit and put up a new post. The blood that dashed out from her belly became eight snakes. Out of them, seven snakes died on the spot but the last one slithered onwards to the west and died there. Upon seeing this, the wise men predicted that of a succession of eight kings that would rule this city, seven kings would end their lives there. The last king would move westwards and rule there. In ME 649 (1287), King Waru kept the moral principles and carried out the welfare of his people.

At that period, King Waru reigned over Mottama and King Tayaphya Pago. They exchanged embassies and formed an alliance with each other. Tayaphya gave his daughter Dala Shin Saw Hla to Waru and Waru's daughter Myee Hnin Thida, was given to Tayaphya. They swore an oath to help each other when war became imminent to one of them.

King Narathihapati, ruler of Bagan, appointed minister Razathingyan as commander and sent him to seize Dala.²¹⁶ Fearing that the war would come to Pago, King Tayaphya asked King Waru of Mottama for assistance. Having fidelity to his ally, King Waru came with the army and joined Tayaphya's forces. The combined forces of Mottama and Pago marched on Wah-ka-maw. Unable to resist the Mon attack, Min Phyt Taw retreated and the town was seized by the Mon army. In Dala, Razathingyan abandoned the town even before the arrival of the Taliang army and so

²¹⁵ *In Thai, Fa rue*

²¹⁶ *Nai Pan Hla (1958, 15;1997, 30). There are some discrepancies between the accounts of the Kamrau Lwi Rajadhiraj and the Hmannan. In the former account, the minister Yazathingyan commanded the Pagan forces against Dala and Pago. In the latter account, Yazathingyan's campaign in the south took place earlier, in the early part of Narathihapate's reign and was directed against Martaban whose governor had rebelled. Yazathingyan's campaign was successful; he deposed the governor and appointed Aleinma as the new governor (Hmannan 1956, 1:375). The Hmannan account, which has Thiharthu of Prome undertaking the campaign against Dala and Pago, state that Thihathu was killed during the siege of Pago. (Hmannan 1956,1:995)*

it was also seized. When the Mon forces marched to Hin-tha-da, Nga Pauk Phyu did not offer any resistance and made an early retreat thus this town was captured too. The Mon army marched again to Kyun Thado and killed Nga Myat Noe, governor of the town and it was taken as well. When all the governors of the towns appointed by Myanmar king in Talaing country were triumphed over, Tayaphya evolved a cunning strategem and said that he would host a feast to king Waru's soldiers to declare that the friendship between the two kings would be kept intact.

And so he went back to Pago quickly. King Waru pitched camp at Mogaung. On reaching Pago, Tayaphya mobilized the army including ferangyi musketeers and made advancement. When Magadu saw the flagstaff of Tayaphya's elephant, he poured out water from a golden bowl and made a vow at the head of the elephant: with the guardian spirits who dwelt in high places as witnesses; he defeated the enemies of Taraphya and seized many towns, yet Taraphya sinned against his benefactor; he wished to win over this renegade king.

During the elephant-back duel between King Waru and King Taraphya, Kawh Thaut Mu, a soldier of king Waru's, lance skewed Taraphya's elephant and it fled. Having no time to bestow a reward, king Waru threw his hand towel to him. King Waru's soldiers caught Taraphya who attempted to escape at the periphery of Kyat-paw forest. With the intervention of the monks, King Waru was convinced to pardon Taraphya's life and brought Taraphya and his family to Mottama. King Waru gave Pago to minister Lawki²¹⁷ whom he had sent to Thawkate'. When the soldier who skewed Taraphya's elephant with his spear revealed the hand towel to King Waru, the King conferred on him a title used only for royalty and named him ' Bo Htu Phyet.' He was also given a 'Thein Kho drum'²¹⁸ and all territories in the four directions from which the sound of this drum could be heard, struck from the man's native village.

In later times, Taraphya again made an attempt upon him. The King said that he was not faithful in Pago and that he made another attempt against him. He should die, since that time. Due to the intercession by the monk, his life had been spared. Now when alive, he sinned again. Therein, Taraphya was sent to the executioners, the king having ordered his execution. As Princess Myee Hnin Thida, daughter of King

²¹⁷ *Luikgu*

²¹⁸ *Ceylon drum*

Waru, loved her husband, she mingled her hair with that of Taraphya. The executioners dared not kill Taraphya when their tresses intermingled so they related this matter formally to the king. On hearing this, the king ordered that they should free his daughter's tresses but cut Taraphya's hair from the end and execute him. As for the sons of Taraphya, Shin Gyi and Shin Nge, they were the grandchildren of the king and thus the king allowed them to wait on inside the palace.

In ME 655 (1292), when the king Waru ruled over Mattama for 6 years, King of Thawkate' received a mother and a young white elephant whose father's antecedent was the Chadon elephant. The color of this elephant was as white as cotton. The tusk was like the color of hibiscus. The palate was like a ripe Tri Cho Santhe palmata²¹⁹. Its two eyes appeared as rubies. Fingernails and footnails were quite similar to the color of vermilion.

When it reached 9 years old, it communicated to the king through a dream that it should no longer stay there. If not, calamity would befall. The King consulted the mandrains and they suggested finding out a place where the white elephant wished to reside. Therein, the king arranged Zimme' grass, Lagun grass, Ayutthaya grass and Mottama grass for the white elephant to pick out and eat. The white elephant pushed out the three grasses and feed on Mottama grass. Upon seeing this, king of Thawkate' was jubilant and said that he would send the white elephant to the king of Mattama who was his son in law. If the temperament of elephant reverted to a former state, he could also take it back. King of Thawkate' informed Waru accordingly.

On hearing that the white elephant would arrive, King Waru was overjoyed and sent a great variety of largesse to the king of Thawkate'. As the process of sending white elephant to Mottama was underway, all the people, monks and Bhramins of Thawkate' were in great distress, wept unceasingly and proffered 'flame of the forest' flowers reverently to the white elephant. The King of Thawkate' appointed a headman of the white elephant sending team which consisted of 500 people and delivered the white elephant along with its mother. The king, however, said that he would not give the mother elephant. Of the five hundred, one hundred people bore grubbing hoe like crow-bar and other one hundred axes to hack, clear and remove earthen pits, stumps and other obstacles. The white elephant was covered by a canopied ceiling, festoon of

²¹⁹ *kind of creeper.*

flowers upon it. The four pandits positioned in the four directions recited sutta to ward off evil or harm. From Mottama, King Waru went upstream with many boats and arranged thoroughly for a raft.

On reaching Pyi (Prome) jetty, the white elephant pushed the mother elephant to climb onboard first. Then, it followed her. The persons who were on the elephant sending mission lamented that if the white elephant brought along with its mother, it would amount to a death sentence for them. On hearing that, the white elephant placed its silver coloured trunk on the back of the mother and wept. And it pushed its mother to descend from the raft. The whole elephant sending team was relieved and rejoiced. The king gave away many rewards to the headman and the team. They brought the mother elephant back. King Waru went downstream, taking the elephant carrying raft surrounded by many attendents. In ME 655 (1292), the white elephant arrived at Mottama.

The news of the arrival of white elephant was heard by the Ngaw daw king²²⁰ and he laid siege to the Mottama town with eighty thousand soldiers.

As the whole city of Mottama became frightened and panicky, the king consulted with the mandrains. At that time, the king received a message through a dream that the war came to increase the glory and fame of the great king. There was no need to be afraid. Water of pleasing aroma should be poured into the golden bowl and place it beside the white elephant. Having arranged per the dream, the white elephant took water with its trunk and sprinkled it about. By the power of white elephant, Ngawdaw king's army was routed. King Waru appointed ministers and commanders to give chase to the enemies. Many a rebel, prisoner of war, elephant, horse and silver were captured. From thence onwards, the inhabitants of Mottama became rich and prosperous.

Twenty two years after the king had taken the Raja-bishika, the two sons of Taraphya, Shin Gyi and Shin Nge, had to proffer betel to the king in the palace inner chamber. When they came of age, they harboured a grudge against King Waru because the king had their father killed in the past. They assassinated King Waru when he entered the water closet. As they were afraid of the mandrains, they ran for their lives

²²⁰ *Razadirit Ayedawbon calls them "Ngawdaw king." Ngawdaw is the Talaing version of Ngedo, the kwin lands near Pinle, the town of the third Shan brother Thihathu.*

but were caught and killed. The corpse of King Waru was cremated in the crematorium. King Waru was assassinated because he murdered Taraphya. Therein, the saying of the elders was thus: if one cut off the sprout of cane, never leave out the root; if one killed somebody's father, never let the son stay nearby. This maxim was inscribed on the bird image supported by a post and placed at the cemetery of King Waru. The king lived thirty nine years before ascending the throne, enjoyed king's comfort for twenty two years and died at the age of sixty one in ME 658 (1295).

King Waru was succeeded by his brother Khon Law. This king was so carefree and took no interest in defending the city. He was like a tree without any substance so that whenever the war came, his towns and villages were devastated. Thamain Min Hla, brother in law of the king thought: if the other king knew that people and the monks of Mottama had no peace of mind, that king would march himself and they could be his prisoners of war. And the enemy king would attain the white elephant. He then spoke out of expediency to the king that there appeared excellent elephants near Min Than Cedi. King Khon Law believed and went on an elephant hunt. Not a single elephant was found and when he returned, he could not enter the city because the city gate was closed. As he approached the banana garden, he was arrested and killed. King Khon Law lived nineteen years before ascending the throne, enjoyed king's comfort for fourteen years and died at the age of thirty three.

After King Khon Law, Thamain Min Hla wished to rule as king. However, Hnin U Yaing, wife of Thamain Min Hla, said that the characteristic of kings was to be as strong and mighty as a king of lions. Only then, would people be afraid of him. It was the mark of an emperor. Now he was getting old. Out of their two sons, the elder Saw O should be made king.

One male child and a female child were born to the queen Myi Hnin Saw Pi, wife of King Saw O. In that selfsame year, Thamain Min Hla and Hnin U Yaing passed away. In ME 682 (1320), the king made an effort to seize Lumpan and it was destroyed. In ME 683 (1321), he rallied against Tavoy and it was also wrecked. The king appointed Minister Khun Yin as commander to invest Tenasserim and won the city over. Many a horse and elephant were captured. During king Saw O's reign, war did not come to Mottama and its inhabitants were at peace. King Saw O lived twenty

two years before ascending the throne, fourteen years in King's comfort and died at the age of thirty six.

King Saw O was succeeded by his brother Saw Zaint. He made Hnin An Po, daughter of late King Khun Law a queen and also his sister-in-law Myi Hnin Saw Pi. He triumphed over Pago, Dagon, Dala and Wah -Tamaw. The king sent Minister Khun Yin to invest Tavoy. After taking possession of Tavoy, he sent him again to march on Tenasserim but failed. The king appointed Thamain Nyi San as commander of the army and sent him to march on Myaing Talwe town. When the town fell, the army took up a position there. At that time, five hundred Shans from Thawkate' came to serve the king. When asked, these Shans said that they heard the King's love for the brave warriors; they came to serve at the royal foot of the king. The king bestowed upon them many rewards and placed them under the supervision of Zaint Pun, tutor to the king.

King Saw Zaint appointed Saw Ai That a captain and assigned him to march on Prome. He occupied the town. This Saw Ai That had four sons - Nyi San, Ai bra bun, Luakphya and Ului. The king raised all of them to the rank of a noble. Two daughters and a son were born to the queen Sandar Min Hla, wife of King Saw Zaint. The elder daughter died young and the younger one was named "Maha Dawei". The son was christened Banya U.

The king assigned Egânkân, son of late King Saw O, to invest Tavoy. There was a slanderous remark that Egânkân did not attach much importance to the affair and retreated. Thus, he was fettered in chains at Tamyroni. Zaint Pun plotted against the king, building a beautiful garden surrounded by a moat and a residential house made of wood at the centre. When invited, the King undoubting, went to the garden. Having five hundred Shans under his patronage, Zaint Pun arrested the King and murdered him. King Saw Zaint lived twenty years before ascending the throne, seven years in King's comfort and died at the age of twenty seven.

Succeeding Saw Zaint, Zaint Pun was made himself king. Queen Sandar Min Hla gave away much gold and silver to the mandarins to kill Zaint Pun. His reign lasted only seven days because it was wrong of him to kill his lord and master.

After Zaint Pun, Saw Egânkân, who was imprisoned at the TaMyroni, was called upon by the order of Queen Sandar Min Hla. When arrived, Sandar Min Hla

wedded to him and he was crowned king. Initially, he had shown affection and respect to Sandar Min Hla as he was indebted to the queen. Later, he indulged in sensual pleasure with female attendants and treated her irreverently. Therefore, the queen added poison to his food and he died. Saw Egânkân lived twenty seven years before ascending the throne, enjoyed forty nine days of king's comfort and died at the same year.

After Saw Egânkân, Banya Ailao, son of late King Kun Law, came forth from Thittaung to rule Mottama. As he heard that queen Sandar Min Hla was envious, he did not bring female attendants except his son Saw AiLao. He married Sandar Min Hla the queen and ruled Mottama. During the reign of Banya AiLao, King of Thawkate', angered at the death of his grandson Saw Egânkân, assigned four nobles Daw Gon, Sit Narga, Naralar and Thei Thabyat to march on Mottama. King Banyar Ailao appointed eaters of Thittaung and Wun towns as commanders to give battle. The Mon army was routed and the commanders were captured. Then Banya AiLao himself formed elephantry and cavalry units and appointed Zait Bye, Nyi Pathi, Thwe Lagun, Raza Date, Byabon, Sit Daung, Thamain Lamyo, Nyi gapun, and Pitpe as captains to invest the Shan in two army columns. They defeated the hosts of the king of Thawkate' and killed them. From this time, the friendship between Mottama and Thawkate' was shattered. As the inhabitants of Mottama, Wun and Thittaung towns could not do anything for a living because of war, famine roamed the land. In the same year, a tiger and boar fought against each other. The tusk of a white elephant was broken. War came from Bagan to Pago. In later times, Saw Ailao, son of Banya Ailao died of small pox. Afterwards, Banya Ailao lived twenty three years before ascending the throne, enjoyed twenty two years in king's comfort and died at the age of forty five.

Banya Ailao was succeeded by Banya U who assumed the title of Hsin Phyu Shin, as possessor of a white elephant. Three years after he came to the throne, king of Zime' appointed minister U Paik Lan as Commander and sent a force of eighty thousand soldiers with a large number of elephants and horses to besiege the Mottama town. All the towns of Thittaung, Taik Kala, Wun, and Lagun were destroyed. That huge Army positioned at Mawdon Thandong.

As the town people became frightened, Queen of Hsin Phyu Shin and wives of Bhramins, Ministers, and wealthy men assembled, made a vow and asked the white elephant for communication through a dream. The message received through a dream was thus: if the people no longer wanted to be afraid of the impending war, the white elephant should be sent to the summit of a high mountain. And after making arrangements for white umbrella, flagmast and canopied ceiling, the queen, female personal attendants, wives of wealthy man and women governors should wear excellent attire for grace and stay on the summit too. Water of aroma should be poured into a golden bowl and placed near the white elephant. When the white elephant sprinkled it about, the Shan army would be routed. Things went according to the dream and many a good elephant, horse and prisoner of war were captured. When the victory was won over Zinme' army, a cordial letter of friendship and many largesse were sent to the king of Ceylon to ask for a holy relic. The King of Ceylon willingly gave away many relics to the embassy. A pagoda was built on the summit near to the scene of the last victory over the Zinme' Shans. The golden statues of King Banya U, his queen and the female attendants were cast in the shape of worshipping the holy relics and enshrined. This pagoda was famed as Kyun Pun Kyat Sa nar.

Three years after the victory over Zinme' Shans, the white elephant died. All the king, queen, lay people, monks and brahmins felt a heart-rending sorrow and wept. A big ceremony for the funeral rites was held and lattice fence and flagmasts were erected on each sides of the road along which the corpse of the white elephant would pass through the city gate. Many fragrant substances, leading lights and lighted oil lamps were used as offertories. When the funeral procession reached a river jetty, the corpse of the white elephant disappeared. The white elephant lived forty two years in Mottama and died at the age of sixty one.

When the king was informed about the finding of elephants' footprints, the length of which was approximately one taung (eighteen inches) in La Pu forest, he gave many rewards to the ministers responsible for the royal elephants and went on an elephant hunt in the forest. It lasted fourteen months. As the king stayed quite long in the forest, four brothers of Byattaba's rebelled. Byattaba took possession of Mottama. Aibrabun stayed at Lagun and Luakphya at Myaung Mya. Ului ruled Mawlamyaing (Moulmein).

The king did not know about the Byattaba's rebellion. During the time when the star approached to the moon, he called upon the mandarins and soothsayers to interpret the meaning. They said: this incident indicated that the slave would do a wrongful thing to his majesty. According to the horoscope, the king's fortune had been waning. The king had no white elephant in possession. He left his own country behind and lived in the jungle. It was not a proper thing for the king to do. The saying of the wise men was that the lion king who ruled over three thousand forests could be defeated by a tiny frog because the lion did not refrain from going to an unbecoming place.

The mandarins deemed that it would be better for the king to return home. When hearing of the coming back of Hsin Phyu Shin from the forest, Aibrabun dared not stay in Lagun and so went to Mottama.

(The king could not suppress the rebellion and occupy Mottama but was forced to rule in Dewun, and four brothers of Byattaba remained supreme in their towns respectively until the early reign of King Rajadirit.)

King Hsin Phyu Shin dug up a moat to fortify the Wun town. As time passed, the town dwellers of Mottama and Mawlamyaing (Moulmein) became frightened for another possible offensive by Hsin Phyu Shin. Byattaba consulted with his relations, sent largesse to Zinme' King and asked for assistance thus: "Byattaba, eater of Mottama, under the royal foot of the king, pays obeisance with palm raised together on the forehead to our Lord and Master. Hsin Phyu Shin and we are not on good terms. We would serve you as trusted slaves; March on with a large number of horses and elephants. We would march on with townsmen of Mottama and Mawlamyaing (Moulmein). If we attacked the Wun town where Hsin Phyu Shin resides from two directions, he would not be able to withstand. When the battle is won, ten viss of gold taxable from the port of Mottama will be sent yearly." Hearing this, King of Zinme assembled the army and planned to march.

When Hsin Phyu Shin came to know of this, he consulted with the mandarins. Minister Pon Se, eater of Wun town, said: "the eastern part of the country would be in their hands. Only if we sought an alliance, would things be looking up in the long run. If we forged an alliance with other king, that king would surely come. However, it would be difficult when the Zinme' King arrived at Thittaung town. What lay at the

back of my mind is that the Zimme' king should be made an ally." So the king asked which suitable present should be sent to Zimme' king. Then Minister Pon Se said: "there was a saying that if a mother was in calamity, she cared only for her own survival. Byattaba the slave not only wronged his majesty but also invited the other king to occupy his own country. Therefore, His majesty should make friends with Zimme' King by sending a daughter. If he became a relation, Zimme' King would not involve himself in this matter. Could Byattaba be withstanding at Mottama. Previously, attempts failed because only the mandrains were sent to invest. If the king himself led the army, could this Byattaba, son of a fox and a barking deer could not resist the lion king. Could Byattaba, son of a black elephant, dare to confront a king of lion's lineage. Byattaba and his family would surely fall into the golden hands."

Hsin Phyu Shin consented with what Minister Pon Se said and sent Princess Dala Myi Thiri, five young elephants and a lot of presents to Zimme'. King of Zimme' did not render assistance to Byattaba.

On hearing that Zimme' King did not care much for the Princess Dala Myi Thiri causing her to be perturbed or unsettled in mind, the king said that it was due to the insurrection of his slave Byattaba, that he had to act according to the circumstances and give his daughter. Then he dispatched a letter to Byattaba and Laukphya which said: "Dynastic rulers of Mottama were plentiful but never before had a precedence of giving away a king's daughter to other sovereign occurred. As you were the trusted slaves of the king, I bestowed great rewards, towns and villages to govern and made you nobles. Even though, thinking that you had many kins and a large number of followers and you revolted against the king. Only in my reign, a king's daughter had to be sent away to other ruler. Now I was informed about my daughter's plight. What do you say about it?"

Byattaba and Laukphya's reply to a letter of Hsin Phyu Shin was thus: "As we were the trusted slaves, we were made nobles according to our skills and capabilities. We had no other cause. We were afraid of the king's wrath swayed by other people's mischievous scandals. We did not loot or grab a city, country or the throne. When the king made war with us, we were panicky and could not dare to be present at the royal foot of the king. Slaves of ours are also slaves of Your Majesty's. If Your Majesty loved and pitied us, we would like to hear the pronouncement made by the royal

august. Then we would even sacrifice our lives in performing duties. We would bring the princess residing in Zinme' back to the royal foot of the king."

Hsin Phyu Shin returned a letter to Byattaba and Laukphya together with the royal presents for the Zinme' King. Byattaba amassed five viss of gold and five elephants and so did Laukphya. Both Byattaba and Laukphya brought these presents to the king of Zinme' in return for the princess Dala Myi Thiri. They brought the princess back to Hsin Phyu Shin.

When Ayutthaya king received the information that Banyan Nwe' (Rajadirit), son of Hsin Phyu Shin, ascended the Hanthawadi throne demolishing all threats of rebellions and the country was in peace and tranquility, he delivered a royal elephant named 'Ghanda'. On hearing this, King Rajadirit assigned five mandrians namely Bomin Byat Za, Amat Daine Mani Yut, Beik Nye', Ye Thin Yan and Zaik Bye' with one hundred elephants and five thousand soldiers to journey up to Kamanpaik (Kamphaengphet) to receive the royal elephant.

4.4. Hanthawadi Hsin-Phyu-Mya-Shin Ayedawbon

At the request of the Crown prince, King's brothers Pyi min, Taungoo min, Innwa min and the mandrians in the year ME 926 (CE 1564), the author Rajataman (Oke-tha-raw) wrote this Ayedawbon probably during the period 1564 to 1580. It is part 3 (page 321-395) of Myanmar Min Mya Ayedawbon.

Of the 35 records in Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon, 5 are directly concerned with Myanmar-Siam warfare. They tell about Myanmar invasion to Chiangmai in 1558, the defeat of Chiangmai, country of the Black-faced people and Zin Yon in 1564, and the conquests of Ayutthaya twice in 1563 and 1569. It forms the portion taking pages 346-380.

4.4.1. Conquest of Chiang Mai also known as Suwannabumi

After the Lord of life, the Just king, profusely endowed with power and glory, conquered the seven Shan states, he first made Sawbwas and Sawkhans²²¹ swear fealty, not to be aberated from father to son and gave them back their status, positions,

²²¹ *lesser Sawbwas*

property and new appanages as well as appointed Sitkes²²² in each of these conquered lands.

Afterwards, the king strictly prohibited and ceased the heretical practice of killing maids of honor, elephants, horses, slaves and servants to be buried with the dead chief in one pit and encouraged the practice of the Myanmar belief of orthodox Buddhism. Mou' hto stupa²²³ was built to be revered and worshipped by the people. August personages of monks were invited and glebe lands were donated unto them. The four things that Buddha had permitted monks to accept as offerings – monastery, robes, food and medicine- were also donated. For achieving the state of renunciation of desire and the fruition of four stages of the path leading to Nivarna, people were to keep Sabbath, to listen to sermons on every Sabbath day and all became orthodox Buddhists.

Having done this, the king kept inner perimeter guards and outer perimeter guards at the frontiers of East Linzin and Zimme' regions. To the north, the same sentries were posted at the periphery of Nga The-wah Khon country (probably Kengton). After this, for the sake of the welfare of monks and the people, all the weights such as kyat, mu and pe' and measures of taun: (basket), tin: (16 pyi), pyi (1/16 of Tin), and sayut (measuring equivalent to two pyi) were standardized to be the same as in the royal city of Hanthawadi. The king commanded that taxes of gold, silver, alloy of copper and zinc, wool and a group of five aromatic substances should be delivered annually. Sons and daughters of Sawbwas and Sawkhans should be sent to the royal foot of the king as well as all the best elephants, horses and the soldiers. Respective Sitke' were appointed in each of these towns. Elephantry and cavalry troops from those towns were placed under the supervision of a commander at the royal foot, with a cavalry unit 500 strong. Foot soldiers were also formed into groups. A stupa was constructed as a place of worship for the people in those towns.

Having done all these arrangements, the king consulted with the Crown prince, Pyi min, Taungoo min, Innwa min and mandrians on internal affairs of the country. Some said that as the Shan states such as Moe Ne' and Nyaung Shwe were tributary states located in the flat mountain, it would be appropriate to place them

²²² *Second in command*

²²³ *image of the Lord Buddha*

under the royal foot and appoint suitable persons. Some said that it would be better to bring all, leaving just a few remnants. Some also said: "All elephants and horses should be carried off. If the king confiscated many guards of Sawbwas, could the bird without a wing fly up to the sky?" Then Banya Sat, trusted servant of the king, said: "since the Shan states such as Moe Ne' and Nyaung Shwe are also the king's states, they are like water in cupped hands. The illustrious king could make them black or white as desired. They should be left for the time being because they did not deserve to be paid special attention. We are now in close proximity to Zinme'. We should arrange to march on that country as a test."

The Lord of life, the Just king said that it was like the spirits carried Banya Sat here to say these words and he very much liked it. So the king called upon the deities who supported the sasana to bear witness and asked for assistance and made Dewa Yazar and Ponna Kyaw work out astrological arithmetic. It chanced that the time was in conjunction with the position of the moon and planets when King Narapati Sithu made a circuit of great island which lies south of Mount Meru (according to Myanmar cosmology) and conquered it. It was also in accordance with the time when the Lord Buddha won over the Buddha throne. In seeking Omen: Sa ne', Taboung, Chicken bone and Tamjin (pluck a ruling line to mark a line), all indicated the time as the opportune moment. Dewa Yazar submitted the written prophesy which read: " King of elephants would come down to the north-east water of Zinme' creek and good elephants would twirl about." The king said that this written prophecy was absolutely right and bestowed rewards to the royal readers. In finding the omen, there was an incident that a woodpecker carried the brown hawk owl to place before the king.

Then the king formed a vanguard inclusive of four armies headed by the Crown prince, Taungoo min, Banya Sat and Banya law to advance earlier. The king led the main army, crossed the Thanlwin creek and marched on. From Moe Ne' to Thanlwin creek, he marched on 24 stations and pitched camp at a place called Zeya Tha Si. From thence to Zinme, the king marched on 21 stations and established camp at Ratana Takan. The king made the tactical deployment of the army to be stationed at the four cardinal points of Zinme' and valiant soldiers to approach the town. King of Zinme' prepared for a full scale war with a large number of elephants and horses but first confronted the enemy with a cavalry unit of 500. Upon seeing the Myanmar

king's soldiers, they dared not give battle and fled. The king of Zimme' too did not further the attack but retreated back to the town and defended, ensconced from within the wall.

Myanmar soldiers approached the base of the city wall and dug for two days and one night. When the city wall had been breached, lots of soldiers entered the town. As such, the king who ruled over Zimme', otherwise known as Thuwanna Bhumi, brought sons and daughters, good elephants and horses as royal gifts and asked to be given audience to the king, bearing his life on his forehead. This was the end of all business that needed attendance and Zimme' was overcome.

After conquering the great city of Zimme', the Lord of life, the Just king said: 'The benefits of one's attributes are the chief factors for kings and emperors. Knowledge, tact or discretion, glory and power attached to one's own self may endure without interruption until the extinction of the world and become a record of joyful utterance handed down from generation to generation.'

The king administered an oath of fidelity before the three gems to the king of Zimme' and all his sons and daughters, which was not to be deviated from father to son, making them drink consecrated water and swear. Upon the place where the vow was made, a stupa was built and was named 'Thit Sar Taw Pagoda'. All mandrians from the Zimme' country, while upholding the pledge of allegiance, had to swallow stones. They were made to be frightened and had to drink the water of allegiance. People, classified according to their respective professions, in order to avoid being mixed up, were brought under the royal foot. In ME 919 (1558), the king conquered Zimme' country, a variant title of which was Thuwanna Bhumi.

After the conquest, the king gilded the Lapon pagoda²²⁴ from the ornamented finial to the base (pinnacle to plinth). A number of novices equal to the king's age were ordained. The place of royal tent was made into monastery and donated unto Ariya monks. The king had had the damaged mou' hto stupa, caves and monastries repaired. The monastries and glebe land were scrutinized and donated. For the welfare of the people, laity and monks alike, all balances, kyat, mu, pe', taun:, tin:, sayut, etc, were standardized to be the same as in the royal city of Hanthawadi. The sentry posts,

²²⁴ *Lumphum*

at the peripheries of eastern Yodaya and Lin Zin as well as Yin On Yatanapura²²⁵ to the south and Wisani Khon country²²⁶ to the north, were stationed. Having done these arrangements, the king commanded that the taxes of elephants, horses, gold and silver, mercuric sulphide, Yun pu, betel packet, wool and five aromatic substances should be delivered annually without interruption. The king of Zinme' himself should come to pay obedience at the royal foot every three years.

The king made governors, nobles and rulers who were each bearing a single umbrella, of Keng Saen, Keng Ye, Lapon, Yunzalin, Yut, etc, drink water of allegiance. Sons and daughters of these nobles were brought to the royal foot of the king. Among them, the straightforward and honest men were allowed to govern their appanages as before. All the dishonest and crooked persons were brought under the royal foot. The king took to heart that accepting the advice of Banyasat was tantamount to the patterns of Cakravartin who listened to the advice of his commander to keep the five, eight and ten precepts and conquered all four islands, of the lion king which listened to the word of the leading bull of the herd and could rule over all the wild beasts dwelling in thirty forests, and of the donor of the golden cave pagoda²²⁷ gave ear to the aged minister Ananda Thuriya and reigned over Thet country.²²⁸ And the king uttered a word to be recorded as "Banyasat's affairs happened most unusually." The king bestowed upon him a grand insignia of a sage. As Banyasat's affairs were in accordance with the Lord of life, the Just king's struggle, here ends one chapter of the royal campaign for the conquest of Zinme, also known as Thuwanna Bhumi.

4.4.2. Conquest of Ayutthaya (War of the White Elephants)

In ME 925 (1563), the king of Zinme' sent the eater of Yunzalin to inform the Lord of life of the destruction of Yunzalin by the king of Ayutthaya. Hearing this, the Just king said: "The matter was like attacking me directly. According to the teachings of Lord Buddha, the disposition of the king should not desire less. He should consider only for the good of his country which could be recorded from generation to generation and carry on the religious work." The king then consulted with the Crown

²²⁵ *Mon*

²²⁶ *probably Kengton*

²²⁷ *Alaung Sithu*

²²⁸ *During Alaung Sithu's reign, King of Thet tribe defied the authority of Myanmar king and revolted.*

prince and mandrains. Myanmar mandrains said that it would be appropriated if the eater of Sittaung and the high ranking officials should stay in Yunzalin. Taliang mandrians said that it would be suitable if the people from the eastern thirty three towns marched on and destroyed Kamanpaik²²⁹. Shan mandrians said that the army should advance at the end of Buddhist Lent. Minister Thiri Zaya Kyaw Htin then said: "In the eastern Shan principalities, Ayutthaya, Linzin and La Waik²³⁰ had numerous elephants, horses, weapons, man power, men of prowess and daring people. If we stayed until the end of the Buddhist Lent, they would probably attack us. It would be better to make a preemptive strike before the war came. We should not postpone up to the end of the Lent. The war would arrive before the cessation of snow in Pyatho (January) and Tapotwe (February) months."

The king said that he liked hearing what Thiri Zaya Kyaw Htin said and ordered astrological arithmetics to be calculated. In doing so, the time was in conjunction with the position of the moon, planets, time when among the old kings of the past, King Anawrahta, advised by the white and brown astrologers, conquered China.²³¹ In performing chicken bone, the result was the same as that for when the great Sawbwa expanded the territory up to the Ton Aw. In listening to Taboung, it fitted with Lyin Kyaung line. In glossing over omen, it was in harmony with the omen of a bear winning over a tiger. In listening to Sanei, it was accordant with 'the king moving along while striking a colossal drum and a gong.' In performing Ta Myin, it coincided with: ' the path was clear and the king would be well met or received.' In consulting the written prophecy, it read: ' Advance on the outskirts of Yodaya and occupy the whole of the east including Ayutthaya and Shans without leaving any living in mountains and forests and take all elephants, horses, and the King of the Shans.'

The king was elated and said it was true. During the Buddhist Lent, the king formed the elephantry and cavalry units. All big and small boats such as Ye laung²³², Hlo ga²³³ and Sat Tin (?) in Zinme' towns were repaired. Many new boats had to be

²²⁹ *Kemphangphet*

²³⁰ *probably Lan Sang*

²³¹ *probably Yunan*

²³² *war boats*

²³³ *boats with high and ornamented prow and stern*

built by the Banyas who ruled the peripheries of towns. Afterwards, the king formed advance forces headed by the Crown prince which consisted of multiple armies, each containing 10000 troops: Innwa min's army, nine sawbwas' armies such as Mo mait, Mo gaung, Thibaw, Kale', Bamaw, Mo ne', Nyaung Shwe, Mo hnyin, and Ohn boun, Bagan army, Pakan army, Taungoo army, armies from Hanthawadi such as Banya Dala's army, Banya Kyantaw's army, Banya Rupa's army, Thiri Dhama Thawka's army, Banya Sat's army, Min Ye Yan Namait's army, Salin Min Kyaw Htin's army, Min Maha's army and Tharyarwadi army.

Each army comprised 50 elephants, 500 horses and 10000 troops. The king led the main army, the four wings of which were made up of many troops, 100 elephants and 5000 horses each. The king marched on from Hanthawadi to Aung thar and to Kyunlone Aung Tin. From there, the king advanced on three stations to Kemphangphet. Kemphangphet army was named Aung Char Nago. The royal elephant was christened as Shwe Nan Kyet The-Ye. Commander Nay Myo Kyaw Htin had to march at the head of the army as the number designated to a particular planet corresponded to his name (for luck). The army stayed in Kemphangphet for a while and brought all iron boats, war boats, hloga and Sat tin boats with full of rice.

All the ordnance and military equipment were carried with numerous rafts. In marching the water route, the river was jammed full with boats. The king put the armies of Crown prince, brothers Pyi min, Taungoo min and Innwa min in front of his army and marched. Two armies from Zimme' were also formed and advanced. At that time, the gracefulness of the Lord of life, the Just king was that, just as the Cakravartin, placing the jewels of Cakra, went round the four great islands, so did the King surrounded by the Crown prince's armies, marched slowly and approached the city.

When the King Bya Hti Yazar (Maha Chakkraphat) was informed that the Lord of life, the Just king's army arrived, he put all the people living in the countryside into the city. He formed many elephantry and cavalry units and planned to attack by the land route. The king's son Bya Mahein (Mahin) together with many Kalas also confronted the enemy full of boats that jammed the river. At that time, Min Ye Kyaw Htin and Nay Myo Kyaw Htin led the cavalry of 500, eaters of Myin Saing and Badon the Innwa cavalry of 500, Letwe Thonaya Thu and Letyar Ye taik led the

Taungoo cavalry of 500 and eaters of Tayoke Maw and Letwe Tuyin the cavalry of 500 marched on.

When the cavalry units of both sides battled against each other, Ayutthaya troops fired guns, canons and Myatapu and gave chase by elephants. The Myanmar frontline cavalry units were taken by surprise and routed. As such, all cavalry units and elephants from the king's main army came out to fight off the enemy, and the incalculable numbers of Ayutthaya vanguard cavalry troops were greatly destroyed.

After that, a nephew and a brother of Ayutthaya king with many elephants and horses confronted the enemy again but they were captured alive by the Crown prince and his cavalry units. Likewise, over 100 horses were taken by the Sawbwas. When the forefront army of Ayutthaya king became disintegrated, he gathered Shans and Kalas forming another army for obstruction. The Lord of life, the Just king pronounced: "who would vie with the soldiers of a king like me on earth" and sent troops to approach the wall and wrested the initiative to gain the possession of the town. In doing so, a great number of soldiers and mandrians were wounded and could not gain the upper hand in battle. As the war dragged on, the King placed the Crown prince at the head of the army and made an attack from the south eastern corner of the city setting fire and killing an abundance of people. From the south, soldiers from the Innwa min's army made an offensive and set the firewood aflame. Thus, the land forces of Ayutthaya king were pulverized.

When this happened, many Kalas deserted their boats and ran away on land. The Nine Sawbwas and Banya Law, Banya Paru, Banya Sat captured all the boats and won the naval battle. When routed, all Ayutthaya soldiers retired to the city. Many prisoners of war were also captured. Myanmar soldiers established camps round the Ayutthaya town controlling the entry and exit of the city. After that, they dug the city wall which collapsed. At the time, the entire city was frightened and panicky as their flesh would be devoured. Their clamorous cries were similar to the roar of the swelling waves of the ocean. People, villagers and mandrians took refuge in Myanmar camp. Therein, the king of Ayutthaya, Bya Hti Yazar (Maha Chakkraphat), brought four white elephants as well as other war elephants, daughters and sons-in-law as presents to beg for his life and came under the royal foot.

As the king of Ayutthaya came into submission, all affairs were ended and the land was conquered. The possessor of white elephants, Lord of life, the Just king made the Ayutthaya king, his son Crown prince Bya Mahein (Mahin), his son in law Aw Har Yan (Maha Thamaracha), eater of Phitsanulok and numerous mandrians swear before the three gems the king's oaths of loyalty which was not to be digressed from sons to grandsons, and to perform the royal duties even at the risk of their lives. Only after that swearing in, did the king give the city back. All dishonest mandrians, rich and wealthy persons were brought to the royal foot. The gold and silver smiths, blacksmiths, castors of bronze, copper or brass, sculptors, painters, turners, masons, carvers of floral design, shapers of stucco, dancers, artistes of non-dramatic performance, practitioners of indigenous medicine, tailors, calukers, mortar workers, and carpenters were brought separately to the royal foot. The king offered food to all monks residing in the Ayutthaya town and donated the prescribed articles for use by the monks.

Glebe lands were scrutized for donation. All the dilapidations in stupas, pagodas, caves and monastries were repaired and made anew. Ayutthaya king's betal bowl and accoutrements had had to be destroyed and the Maha Dat Hair Relics Pagoda had to be gilded from finial to the ground (pinnacle to plinth). A number of novices equal to the king's age were ordained. The tent named 'Lay Kyun Aung Ne' was made into a monastery surrounded by twenty lesser monastries and donated to the ascetics dwelling away from the human habitation. The pitakas²³⁴ were copied into 118 sets and repositied in the glebe land so as to be permanent. Medicines were provided for the sick and infirm monks and a Buddhist vihara was built for them in glebe lands which was to be endured perpetually were donated.

The Lord of living things, the just king, soverign over land and water and the possessor of white elephants, gold, silver and ruby mines, arranged these things for the sake of the cycle of rebirth. For the benefit of the present, the king appointed the second in command in Ayutthaya town as well as made balances, kyat, mu, pe', basket, tin:, pyi and sayut to be the same as in the capital and so were the use of silver. The people hiding away in the mountains and forests were called upon to the royal foot. From the realm of Ayutthaya to the fringes of Lin Zin, La Waik, Khon and Yaw,

²³⁴ *Buddhist scriptures*

Ayutthaya, Kyaw and Ayutthaya and Ayutthaya and Tani, inner and outer guards with numerous elephants and horses were posted.

Having done these things, the King surrounded by his son Crown prince, his brothers Pyi min, Taungoo min, Innwa min, and Myanmar, Taliang and Shan mandrians, brought four white elephants, daughter of Ayutthaya king, prisoners of war and uncountable number of people. Just as Cakravartin made the circuit of four great islands and went back to the old place, the Lord of life, the Just king and the possessor of white elephants, gold, silver and ruby mines returned to the golden palace in Hanthawadi. After arriving back, the King released Aw Har Yan, a single umbrella bearing king of Phinsanulok and son-in-law of Ayutthaya king. Respective eaters were appointed in 57 towns such as Kamphanphet, Phitsanulok, Sukothai, Pitsan, Zanat, Kada pura, Lagon, etc. As the location of Tennasserim and Tavoy were near to Ye and Wakaru towns which in turn were in close proximity to the ocean, only the high ranking mandrians were appointed. These eaters of Tenasserim and Tavoy with their attendents were brought to the royal foot and were given the insignia of a ruler of big cities. As these towns were situated near the sea, the king built a camp or guest house for the embassies coming from the Kala country to accommodate when they paid visits. Reliable mandrians with a great number of elephants and horses were appointed as the captain of the ships. The king made sure that trusted mandrians and guards were also entrenched in places close to Tani and A-sin towns.

Having done this, the King made Ayutthaya king pay 100 taxes for elephants, 500 for horses, taxes of gold, silver, velvet and various cloths for Paso²³⁵ shipped to the port annually without interruption. All eaters of towns had to send respective taxes per annum. They also paid miniatures of gold and silver flagstaffs and trees, various pesos and cloths as a gift in respect and gratitude thrice a year in every beginning of the Lent, end of the Lent and a Myanmar new year. They themselves came to pay obeisance under the royal foot in every three years with many elephants and horses as well as a variety of largesses. Half of these presents payable to the king should be sent to the Crown prince. The city of Tenasserim and Tavoy sent taxes of gold, silver, lead, Ton sayat, Tain Nyet and mercuric sulphide yearly without fail.

²³⁵ *nether garment of Myanmar males*

The king made history of the realm by erecting the land marks between Ayutthaya town and the golden city. Thus, the king took to heart that heeding the Thiri Zeya Kyaw Htin's affairs by the Lord of life, the Just king, was tantamount to the patterns of King Dahla Nami who accepted the words of the Minister cum General and went round the four great Islands with his cakra²³⁶ preaching the law of probity or integrity to all kings of various islands and received the worship with numerous gems, of the king in Varhera treatise who listened to the young maiden and conquered all countries, of the possessor of five white elephants who accepted the advice of one of the courtiers received five white elephants and Myin Saing town. The king joyfully uttered that Thiri Zaya Kyaw Htin's affairs was a rare thing to happen. Thiri Zeya Kyaw Htin was given the insignia of a high ranking Minister.

As Thiri Zeya Kyaw Htin's affairs was in accordance with Lord of life, the Just king's struggle, here ends one episode of the royal campaign for the conquest of Ayutthaya pura with the gaining of four white elephants and sons and daughters of the king of Ayutthaya.

4.4.3. Conquests of Chiang Mai, Country of the Black-faced people and Zin Yon

In ME 926 (1563), the eater of Yunzalin came urgently to the royal foot and reported that the king who ruled over Zinme' or Thuwanna Bhumi which fell within the boundry of the realm, embraced a mistaken belief and revolted. The king then said: "This matter implied that the Shan should not be made to rule but Myanmar, who had the fairness of mind, should be a ruler and Zinme' should become a Myanmar territory. It could be true that Saka, who takes care of the religion for 5000 years, carried the eater of Yunzalin before the king.

Afterwards, the king consulted the internal affairs of the realm with the Crown prince, high ranking mandrians and chiefs of Myanmar, Taliang, Shan and Indians. Some Myanmar mandrians said that the king should attack with verve and gusto during this year. Some said that Zinme' king alone would not devise a plan. Zinme' was very near to Linzin and La Waik. It would therefore not be an easy task. The king should march on with a great force. Then a mandrian named Sukatae said: "This matter should not be assigned to King's brothers and sons. It was a matter for the

²³⁶ *wheel*

illustrious king because not only did the Zinme' king plot but there must also be conspirators. The king should therefore march on at the end of the Lent when the rain and strong wind ceased." The king was jubilant at hearing the words of Sukatae and said: "It was true that my plan and Sukatae's counsel were brought by all spirits." And the king proclaimed: "The wise men praised the victories of kings by their feat of arms or by power and glory. They do not applaud the conquests of emperors by means of concealment or a ruse. Thus, any king whose bravery may be the same as that of the king like me but there would be a difference in abundance of soldiers. Though the profusion of soldiers may be the same, the valor would not. Even though, the gallantry and the great quantity of soldiers may be the same, what sort of enemy would rival with the king like myself who was adroit at affairs concerning Dhama, secular affairs and matters relating to kings and governments and complete with management and planning skills, attributes and the power and glory."

The King then assembled elephantry and cavalry units. He had the famous astrologers work out the predestined events and the position of the stars as well as chicken bones, tamyin, omen, taboung and sanai. All outcomes were more or less in tune with good omens. Therein, the king sent a message to nine sawbwas such as Mo Gaung, Mo Nyin and Mo Mait sawbwas as well as king's brothers Pyi min, Taungoo min and Innwa min that they should accompany the king in marching to Zinme' at the end of the Lent. When the Lent was over, the King arranged an army of 50 elephants, 200 horses and 10000 soldiers headed by the Crown prince and Banya Law, the same strength of the armies led by Min Kyaw Htin, Banya Dala and Banya Kyandaw respectively and the armies consisted of 10000 soldiers each led by nine sawbwas. Similarly, each army of 10000 troops was formed under the command of Pyi min, Taungoo min, Innwa min and Tharyarwadi min. The king's army each of the four wings of which comprised 10000 soldiers and 100 elephants marched on with many umbrella bearing kings. The elephant ridden by the Just king was named 'Yadana Tansaung.' The person whose stars corresponded with the occasion was also christened 'Yan Aung Baya' and had to march at the forefront.

After having arranged these things, the king, together with the Crown prince, marched from the royal palace and established camp at Zaya Tharsi. From thence, they pitched camp at Yin Mya Myit. From there, the king marched eleven stations to

Yunzalin. From there to Lapon, the king marched twenty two stations and constructed a temporary tent at Yan Myit. All soldiers led by the Crown prince set up camps to besiege the town. After setting up the encampment, the army bombarded the city with rain of fire; Zinme king was absolutely terrified as the flesh of him would be consumed. Thus, he placed four prominent elephants called Hahti-thera and numerous elephants and horses at the forefront and a variety of insignias of a king as well as a niece as a gift and welcomed from the Lapon army. He said: "I, a slave of the glorious king, did not revolt. While upholding the king's oath of loyalty, I lived in respect and gratitude to the king. Only the eaters of Khiang Saen and Lagun rebelled. I would capture them." The king consoled himself and tolerated.

As the Zinme' king accompanied by many mandrians came to the royal foot and asked to spare their lives, Zinme' town also known as Thuwanna Bhumi was triumphed over. The king then invited the most revered Buddhist abbots including the Chief Abbot of the Sasana in Zinme' respectfully and before them, said to the Zinme' king and the mandrians: "I forbear and forgive what many mighty kings of the past were unable to tolerate. Who on this earth and over the sky could provoke against the king like myself. All of you deserve to be put to death. Nevertheless, assuming your life as a flower blossom, I pardon your lives." And in the presence of eminent monks and in front of Lapon pagoda, the king released all of them.

The king donated food, flowers, four offerings²³⁷ and eight prescribed articles for use by monks to those monks. Lapon pagoda was gilded from finial to the ground (pinnacle to plinth). The king constructed four public resthouse as they grew out of the golden land. All monks could reside at their places as before. A public crier made the round, sounding the gong and issuing announcement that people should not be scared. Zinme' king, mandrians and people involved in the conspiracy were brought to the royal foot. All skillful persons such as sculptor (in stone), makers of brick tile, gold and silver smiths, blacksmiths, painters, sculptor (in wood), craftsmen who work with oleo-resin, calukers, mortor workers, carpenters, boxers, wrestlers and dancers were brought separately. Those who did not come in submission and took shelter in the mountains and forests were thoroughly scrutinized and more than 40000 people were brought over. All those skillful workers were settled in Hanthawadi.

²³⁷ *monastery, robes, food and medicines*

Afterwards, armies were formed, each containing 10000 soldiers. The organization of each army of 10000 soldiers was as follows: 10 men under one corporal, 10 corporals under one commanding officer, and 10 commanding officers under one Sittke²³⁸ and 10 Sittke's under one commander. They were placed at the royal foot in Zinme' to garrison the town. Fifteen armies each composed of 10000 soldiers with multitudinous elephants and horses led by the Crown prince marched to Lin Zin town in pursuit of the eaters of Khaing Saen and Lagun. Hearing this, the Crown prince, a brother of the king of Lin Zin, and the general deployed the four combat arms and with much soldiers, elephants and horses left the town and assembled en mass.

The Crown prince placed Banya Kyantaw's army at the forefront. Min Maha's and Banya Payan's armies were sent to the south eastern corner. One column comprised Min Kyaw Htin's and Banya kyantaw's armies. Another column consisted of Min Ye Yanamait's and Yawkayub's armies. When these four columns marched different directions, the Crown prince, brother of king of Linzin and the Lin Zin general launched an attack on Banya Kyantaw's army. Banya Kyantaw made his elephant charge²³⁹ and counter-attacked. There was no obstruction. When the vanguard of Lin Zin was devastated, the general's elephant revolved round and ran away. When Min Kyaw Htin's army and the Crown prince of Lin Zin's army confronted and battled against each other, the latter's army was routed. Myanmar Crown prince's army made one more offensive and all Lin Zin soldiers were dispersed and fled. After suppressing the Lin Zin army, the Crown prince and his 15 armies marched in unison blockcading the enemy from the east and the west and surrounded the Lin Zin army. In another offensive, the Crown prince of Lin Zin was captured alive. The other armies captured generals of the King of Lin Zin. Each army captured one or two mandrians of Lin Zin King with elephants in battles. Min Kyaw Htin's army captured sons of the Crown prince. Numerous elephants, horses received from Lin Zin town and great rewards were lavishly bestowed upon the Crown prince, more than the other kings of the past did to their Crown princes.

²³⁸ *second in command*

²³⁹ *refraining from using the goad*

After that, king's brother Pyi min and many mandrians were sent as one column to pursue eaters of Khiang Saen and Lagun. Taungoo min and various mandrians chased these run away fugitives as another column. In pursuing them with two columns, Pyi min Thado Dhama Yaza reached up to the country of the Black-faced Thais. He stationed his army not far away from town of the Black-faced Thais and sent a message with Ayutthaya minister Banyam Thunamait: "The enemy of the Lord of life, the Just king, sovereign over water and land and the possessor of white elephants, eater of Khaing Saen would be given or made a war." Upon hearing this, the king of the Black Thais were scared to death and sent a minister to give the eater of Khaing Saen with various grown up elephants and horses. At that time, the Lord of life, the Just king gracefully esconced like a Cakravartin, sent a messenger and said: 'As the king of the Black-faced Thais accepted my enemy, destroy him.' The king of the Black-faced Thais was horrified as his flesh would be gobbled and the blood sucked from the crown of head. So he sent a message with an envoy: "I will uphold the king's oath of loyalty. I would serve as a slave. My most beloved daughter should stay permanently at the royal foot." Then the Lord of life, the Just king left Zimme' minister Yut as the rank of a governor to guard the town while ordering Nawrahta to give water of allegiance to the king of the Black-faced Thais and gave the appointment to audience him. The Just king brought the king of Black-faced Thais to the royal foot and received king's daughter together with many gifts such as elephants, horses, wool, five aromatic substances, many colors of silk longyis such as green, yellow, golden, black, red, dull and faded, blue, etc.

Taungoo min also reached up to Zin Yon²⁴⁰. Before arriving at the town, the army stroke big drums and gongs, fired a rain of bullets and revealed the martial prowess in riding elephants and horses. Moreover, they captured people from the surrounding areas of Zin Yon, set the firewood aflame, captured prisoners of war and sent an ultimatum to the king of Zin Yon with two governors Yaza Bala and Banyam Lapon: " Have the king of Zin Yon not heard the news that the Lord of life, the Just king make round the four great islands and conquer? The enemy of us, the eater of Lagun escaped Zimme' to take refuge in Zin Yon. Would he be given or make a war?"

²⁴⁰ *Khiang Hung*

The king of Zin Yon consulted with the mandrians. The people, laity and monks cried: " Which king on these four great islands dares to reprove with the Lord of life, the Just king and possessor of white elephants." The king of Zin Yon was so afraid that he gave the eater of Lagun back. The generals of the king of Zin Yon brought numerous grown up elephants and horses, insignias of royalty, and a variety of Chinese pasos to the royal foot. The king then said: "Did the king of Zin Yon provoke against me by giving the enemy a refuge?" And he sent an urgent message to the Taungoo min to besiege the town and take possession of it. Thus, Taungoo min and his soldiers approached the town and set fire to the households. They also set the firewood ablaze and worsted the Zin Yon army. The king of Zin Yon sent his uncle with various elephants, horses, gold and silver flowers, gold flagstaff, silver flagstaff, wool, five aromatic substances and a variety of Chinese pasos and said: " While upholding the king's oath of loyalty, I would serve as a slave. There's no miscellancy." The king calmed and ordered Banyas Bya and Nay Myo Kyaw Htin to make king of Zin Yon drink the water of allegiance which was not to be unfaithful from sons to grandsons. Afterwards, the king of Zin Yon had to make a strong commitment that he himself, with his beloved daughter and presents, would come to the royal foot at the end of the Lent.

Then, the army withdrew. When uncountable numbers of kings and soldiers marched to quell the uprising in Zinme', not only was Zinme' conquered, but the three big countries of Zinme', the Black-faced people and Zin Yon were suppressed at one stroke. After these conquests, just as the Cakravartin made round the four great islands and returned to the native place, the Lord of life, the Just king and the possessor of the white elephants went back to the royal city of Hanthawadi. So the King took to heart that accepting the advice of Minister Sukatae was like to the patterns of King Gamani who listened to the words of a minister named Wathali and could rule over Kye countries (Tamil), of Yamathita in Verheya treatise who paid heed to the words of Taung Thugyi²⁴¹ and possessed many thrones, and of King Narapati Sithu who listened to the advice of minister Ananda Thuriya and could expand the territories of the realm. The king also said the great words that Sukatae's

²⁴¹ *a farmer*

intervention was a special occurrence. Minister Sukatae was given a grandiloquent insignia.

As Sukatae's affairs were concurrent with the Lord of life, the Just King's struggle, here ends one chapter of the royal campaign for the conquests of Zinme', Country of the Black-faced people and Zin Yon at a single stroke without having been broken any sword or lance.

4.4.4. Conquest of Ayuttaha (The First fall of Ayutthaya)

In ME 930 (1568), the king who ruled over Avicchapura (Aweishapura) entertained heretical belief, formulating an insidious idea and made allies with La Waik²⁴² and Lin Zin as Devadatta and Ajartathat conspired against Lord Buddha. Though it had become a subordinate kingdom in the possession of white elephants' realm, he stopped paying taxes and revolted. The news was carried by the eaters of Phitsanulok, son-in-law of the Ayutthaya king, Kamphanphet and Kantaburi²⁴³. They urgently came to the royal foot in Pyatho month and informed in respect and in fear that the king of Ayutthaya made the city strong and rebelled. Then the Lord of life, the Just king declaimed: "Which enemy could withstand the king like me, sovereign over water and land who was unrivalled. They entertained erroneous sentiment to plot against me because they wanted to die. They disgraced my honor and reputation."

Just as the moon surrounded by stars plentifully gracefully brightened at the night of the 15th waxing day, so did the king consult the internal affairs of the realm with the Crown prince, Myanmar mandrians, Shan mandrians and Taliang mandrians in the golden *Hluttaw*²⁴⁴. Some mandrians said: "The king of Ayutthaya was like a rabbit or a deer which could not jump about before the Lion king. Whatever interruption came to be, the army should march on arduously regardless of day or night." Some Shan mandrians supposed: "This matter need not be prolonged. It calls for immediate action." Some Taliang mandrians²⁴⁵ thought: "It would be appropriated if the Crown prince was sent to march on." Some Kala mandrians assumed: "The army should march within this year." Ottama Thiri Zeya Thura then said: "This matter need not marching on swiftly. It requires careful planning and should take many things into

²⁴² probably Lan Sang

²⁴³ Kachanaburi

²⁴⁴ parliament

²⁴⁵ Daw Banyas

account. Because, previously, the king of Ayutthaya thought the Myanmar monarch could not reach their country and thus lacked planning. Now, he will not treat things superficially as before. Though he became our slave and knew our good elephants and horses as well as our martial prowess and the king's power and glory, he made another attempt to rebel. Another thing is that the king of Lin Zin is the possessor of 100000 war elephants and the king of La waik the lord of valiant soldiers, good elephants and horses. Therefore, these three countries may associate themselves to compass conspiracy. Arrange things from now on and the army should march on at the end of the Lent."

The king said that Ottama Thiri Zaya Thura's affairs was the same as his thinking and called upon Saka, who takes care of the Sasana for 5000 years and spirits to bear witness and assembled the numerous elephants and horses. And he appointed which mandrians should be commanders, which should be second in command and which others should march to battle. The king formed the armies thus:

All umbrella bearing kings and king's brother Pyi min with 50 war elephants, 500 horses and an army of 100000 troops;
 Taungoo min with 50 war elephants, 500 horses and an army of 100000 troops;
 Innwa min with 50 war elephants, 500 horses and an army of 100000 troops;
 Mo Gaung Sawbwa with 50 war elephants, 500 horses and an army of 10000 troops;
 Mo Mait Sawbwa with 50 war elephants, 500 horses and an army of 10000 troops;
 Mo Nyin Sawbwa with 50 war elephants, 500 horses and an army of 10000 troops;
 Ohn Baung Sawbwa with 50 war elephants, 400 horses and an army of 10000 troops;
 Hsipaw Sawbwa with 50 war elephants, 500 horses and an army of 10000 troops;
 Mo Nai Sawbwa with 30 war elephants, 300 horses and an army of 10000 troops;
 Nyaung Shwe Sawbwa with 30 war elephants, 300 horses and an army of 10000 troops;
 Yapsaup Sawbwa with 30 war elephants, 300 horses and an army of 10000 troops;
 Zinme' king with 100 war elephants, 500 horses and an army of 100000 troops;
 Tharyarwadi min with 50 war elephants, 400 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Taungdwin and Yame'thin mins with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

The three towns of Tayoke Maw, Gu Htut and Hinthada with 30 war elephants, 300 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Thiri Dhama Thawka with 30 war elephants, 300 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Min Ye Nanamaik with 30 war elephants, 300 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Min Kyaw Htin with 30 war elephants, 300 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Baya Kyaw Htin with 30 war elephants, 300 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Ottama Thiri Zaya Thura with 30 war elephants, 300 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Nanda Thuriya with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Banya Dala with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Banya Kyan with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Banya Law with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Banya Payan with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Banya Sat with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Banya Bye'za with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Thiri Dhama Yat with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Banya Yan with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Banya Arinama with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Banya Bye' with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Lagun Ain with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops;

Shan Saw Hey with 30 war elephants, 200 horses and an army of 10000 troops.

The Crown prince commanded 100 war elephants and 1000 horses. The four wings of the Lord of life, the Just king's army was thus: the commander of the army deployed at the front was Letyar Pyanchi, the commander of the army of the right Nay Myo Kyaw Htin, for the army of the left was Zala Thinyan and the commander of the rearguard was Banya Dala. Each army had 100 war elephants, 500 horses, and 10000 troops.

Having done this, the king planned to march on his birthday which fell on Wednesday the 11th waxing day of Thidin kyaut and had the learned persons well versed in astronomy and arithmetics work out their computation. It was in conjunction with the time when King Narapati Sithu, after making the circuit of his territories, returned to his place. The position of the star was in line with the 'win' star.

In searching for omen, the omen of a kite carrying a small chicken and placing it before the king surfaced. In listening to Tabaung, the song previously sung by a man was heard: 'By heeding the advice of Nay Myo Kyaw Thu, the king's mission will be accomplished.' In listening to Sanai, the words of a woman were heard: 'The king of Lin Zin will come to side with Ayutthaya.' In performing Tamyin, it coincided with the tamyin: 'The king will overcome all dangers coming from the east or the west.' In consulting the written prophecy, it was in harmony with the written prophecy which said: 'Yodaya which was close by the sea would like a tiger threaten. The proud elephant king would make a round of the world and take it.'

As all these omens of astrology, arithmetics and the position of the moon and the stars were somewhat moderate and good, the Lord of life, the Just king, sovereign over the land and the water and the possessor of white elephants surrounded by all umbrella bearing kings, marched from the palace and stationed himself at Aung Tataw. From thence, he established camp at Man Aung Tat thar. From there to the Yodaya town, he journeyed through 47 stations and reached In Taung. When arriving at In Taung, the king built a Yatana Aung tataw (army) and the main army pitched camp there. Then the four groups, each composed of 100 horses led by Letyar Ye Taik, Min Kyaw Htin, Baya Kyaw Htin and Saw Paw Gyi were dispatched to investigate the four directions. The king of Ayutthaya also divided his army into four groupings accompanied by elephantry units to attack. The three groups of Myanmar horsemen did not give battle but only made a survey and returned.

Upon seeing that the king of Ayutthaya was about to launch an offensive with elephantry units, Letyar Ye Taik arranged his foot soldiers, not retreating and made a stand with 100 horses from the south eastern corner of the town. When the soldiers of Ayutthaya king saw this, they were afraid to pursue him. When the reinforcement came, however, they mounted an attack. Owing to an inferiority of numbers, Letyar Ye Taik moved to another place to resist but Ayutthaya soldiers followed in pursuit of them. When the troops of Letyar Ye Taik repulsed the attack in unison, Ayutthaya soldiers dashed into the town. With the arrival of other forces, they chased out the enemy and many Ayutthaya soldiers stampeded themselves at the gate and perished. Myanmar soldiers followed them up the moat outside the city and killed countless swathes.

As the king of Ayutthaya and the people, laity and monks were so terrified that the blood from the crown of their head would be sucked, the king sent an urgent message requesting for reinforcements from Lin Zin. The spies informed this to the Lord of life, the Just king. The king, just as the King of Garuda chased the dragon, ordered the soldiers to approach the town thickly, encircling the bank of the moat and the surrounding areas of the town. He deployed 37 armies led by the kings of various countries to station around the city controlling the entry and the exit of the town. The king who was as firm and brave as the lion king pitched camp with 12 armies of the four wings.

As the king's armies together with 37 armies besieged the town, the Ayutthaya king Bya Hti Yazar (Maha Chakkraphat) who ruled over Avicchapura (Aweishsapura), upon seeing the arrival of Myanmar soldiers, expired due to great anxiety, strain and stress caused by the frightfulness, the delay in reinforcement from King of Lin Zin and the mismanagement of his son Bya Mahein (Mahin). The Lord of life, the Just king said of the death of Yodaya king: "The king of Ayutthaya who had already sworn my oath of loyalty which was not to be cast aside from sons to grandsons, perished because he breached the oath. Now, he was dead. As he was ungrateful to me, he would be thrown into the four nether worlds in the cycle of rebirth and become a stump in hell." When King Bya Hti Yazar (King Maha Chakkraphat) deceased, his son Bya Mahein (Pra Mahin) ascended the throne. He repaired the turrets and the wall, made the defense of the city strong and withstood. The Lord of life, the Just king had a man shout: "Your father, Bya Hti Yazar (Maha Chakkraphat) did not die a good death because he behaved in an aberrant manner. His mandrians also acknowledged my oath of loyalty. If you do not keep the loyalty, you would die by swallowing blood."

Bya Mahein (Mahin), king of Ayutthaya, who did not want to surrender until the arrival of the reinforcement from Lin Zin, sent another messenger to Lin Zin. Before the coming of Lin Zin troops, he thoroughly made the defence of the city strong and withheld. The lord of life, the Just king drew up a big scheme to pile up a mountain of earth on the bank of the moat, higher than the Yodaya city, built turrets, positioned many soldiers on it and bombarded the city with a rain of fire. Cannons and Myatapu were fired as if the rain coming down from the sky. When the soldiers

poured a rain of arrows over the city, there was no one who dared to journey inside the town. Those who left the house to make journey and a lot of soldiers died in inestimable numbers. Ayutthaya king then raised the height of the city wall and positioned the army for opposition. The Lord of life, the Just king's soldiers built their earthwork much higher than that of the Ayutthaya king's wall. The Ayutthaya king constructed many times to get higher and higher and so did the Myanmar soldiers. When they exchanged fires, incalculable number of people perished.

At this time of the struggle, King of Lin Zin and many mandrians with 50 war elephants, over 1000 horses and 100000 troops marched on to help the king of Ayutthaya. When hearing about this, the king consulted the affair with his son heir apparent, his brothers Pyi min, Taungoo min, and Innwa min. Some mandrians said: "The city should be left with the besieging army and the whole armies should make a pre-emptive strike upon the reinforcement from Lin Zin." Some mandrians said: "We would open the battle front. When the reinforcement from Lin Zin comes, we shall remove the besieging army to let them enter the city. Even if the townsmen wanted to come out, let them do it. We should attack only when did they become one." Some mandrians said: "It would be appropriated if the half armies were deduced from the main to give battle." Nay Myo Kyaw Htin then said: "The besieging army should not be removed. The king's army should position itself in the middle. Half soldiers from each army should be led by one or two brothers of king and high commanders to stand by. The illustrious king's son the heir apparent and we would mount an attack upon the troops of Lin Zin king. If the strength of the army from the town became big, we would come to assist." The king said: "This scheme of Nay Myo Kyaw Htin's is quite similar to the plan I thought."

After that, the king arranged the armies thus: king's brother Thado Dhama Yazar was made the commander of the besieging army; the heir apparent led the vanguard; king's brother Taungoo min headed one column and king's son-in-law Innwa min, Banya kyan and Min Kyaw Htin marched another column. The Just king said that if the king of Ayutthaya came out of the town to fight, he would come to assist the fight back. If the Lin Zin army arrived, he would also help fight the enemy. Thus, the king left the Yodaya town and set up camp at a distance of 3 stations from there called 'Ya Kyon Aung Myin'. The general of Lin Zin king led the vanguard

army as one column composed of 30 war elephants and 300 horses. When the Innwa min Thado Saw made a premature attack, the elephants turned round and ran amok. The battle was won and many elephants were captured.

King of Lin Zin led another column and charged with many elephants to confront the heir apparent's army. The heir apparent riding on the royal elephant *Pjaun Lu Nat* fought with king of Lin Zin on elephant back duel. During the fight, *Pjaun Lu Nat* levered the side of Lin Zin king's elephant off with its task and it fell with a thud. As such, the remaining elephants turned round and ran away. Then, the soldiers gave chase to all Lin Zin soldiers, retreating in defeat. All mandrians as well as soldiers from elephantry and cavalry units deserted their elephants and horses and fled. Some stooped down in the mountains and forests to hide. When the Lin Zin army was routed, the heir apparent, king's brother Min Gaung and son-in-law Thado Minsaw went after the king of Lin Zin. They captured much elephants and horses from the Lin Zin army and offered them to the king. The Lord of life, the Just king praised the battle in which his son heir apparent won over the king of Lin Zin and lavishly bestowed royal attires and insignia of a Crown prince. Many grown elephants and horses were given to the heir apparent. The king conferred on his brothers Taungoo min and Innwa min insignias worthy of their ranks and grown elephants and horses as well. All mandrians who won the victory in the battle were given great rewards and insignias which befitted them.

The victory over the war against Lin Zin was due to the fact that the king followed the counsel of Nay Myo Kyaw Htin. The king took to heart that listening to the words of Nay Myo Kyaw Htin was tantamount to the patterns of the King of Banares who, heeding the advice of his general, could triumph over the enemy, of King Nyaung U Saw Rahan, who listening to words of an equerry, could seize the throne. The king then said Udan Mawgun (words which could be recorded): "Nay Myo Kyaw Htin's intervention was a special occurrence." the king bestowed upon him grand insignias.

As Nay Myo Kyaw Htin's affairs was in accordance with the Lord of life, the Just king's struggle, here ends one episode of the royal campaign for the conquest of the Lin Zin army which consisted of numerous troops, grown up elephants and horses.

Hearing the unrestraint flight of the king of Lin Zin, whose reinforcement armies was totally crushed and not a single man including elephants and horses escaped, the Ayutthaya king was so afraid that he said to the people, laity and the monks: " All of you must sacrifice your lives within these walls. If the Myanmar king ran over the town, our lives would not be spared." He constructed the city wall layer by layer to be strong enough for withstanding. The Just king's soldiers piled up a great earthwork to be higher than the city. On top of the city, elephants and horses travelled to and fro and they feigned to descend from there and attacked relentlessly. Myanmar soldiers filling with canon, Myatapu, matchlocks and flintlocks, bows and arrows in the iron boats, Hlaw gar boats, Satin boats and Ye Hlay²⁴⁶ attacked from La waik creek and seized the port. From there, they approached the base of the city wall and fired guns and canons. Meanwhile, soldiers on elephants and horseback descended from the top of the mound and entered the city. All the boats from La Waik creek also approached and entered the town. When many soldiers penetrated the city, the Siamese could not resist anymore. The town fell and the victory was won.

After the conquest, Ayutthaya king Bya Mahein (Mahin) together with his sons came to the royal foot. When the Lord of life, the Just king conquered the city, he invited the venerable monks from Ayutthaya town respectfully and before the Maha Dattaw Ceti²⁴⁷ said: " As Ayutthaya King Bya Hti Yazar (Maha Chakkraphat) was ungrateful to me, he fell under malediction and did not die like a king but expired like a dog and a pig, unheeded. After his death, Bya Mahein (Pra Mahin) should have come hastily to the royal foot but he did not. He was as vainglorious as a lobster and withstood from the town. Now, the spirits who take care of the Sasana for 5000 years could not sit idly by and send a turncoat to me. Yodaya king Bya Mahein did not know that he was indebted to me. He now came to disaster because he did not keep his oath of loyalty which was not to be veered off from sons to grandsons although he had already sworn in. His life should be executed. However, before the Lord Buddha and in the presence of venerable monks, I pardon the lives of Ayutthaya king and all mandrians."

²⁴⁶ *War boats*

²⁴⁷ *Great Relics Pagoda*

The king of Ayutthaya Bya Mahein (Mahin) and mandrians together with their families from Yodaya town were brought to Hanthawadi, leaving not a single one behind. Moreover, the king thoroughly examined the dishonest persons and over 40000 people under the supervision of the commanders and suttikes' were separately carried off to the royal city. Each and every grown elephant and horse previously concealed in Ayutthaya town was checked and brought to the royal foot. The king carefully verified those mandrians who did not plot or revolt and gave water of allegiance to be swallowed by them and reinstated their respective posts. Eater of Phitsanulok, Sawbwa Thaug Kyi²⁴⁸, son in law of the late Ayutthaya King Bya Hti Yazar (Maha Chakkraphat) had to swear by his loyalty to the Lord of life, the Just king which was not to be swayed from sons to grandsons before the three gems in front of the Maha Relics Pagoda and was made a subordinate king of Ayutthaya.

Monks residing in the Ayutthaya town were entrusted to admonish the king of Ayutthaya. The demages in pagodas, stupas, caves and monastries were refurbished. The dilapidation in glebe lands were also tested out and donated as usual. The place of the temporary tent was made a monastery. The king ordained a number of novices equal to his age. Every pagoda and stupa in Ayutthaya town were gilded full of foils.

Having done this, just as the Cakravartin, after making a round of four great islands, retired to his abode, the king returned to the royal golden city of Hanthawadi. As the cities of Tenasserim and Tavoy were once belong to the Ayutthaya king, the eater of Ayutthaya town appointed officials to administer these towns. They had to send taxes of female white elephant and many other elephants, horses, gold, silver, paso and aromatic resin of a benzoin tree annually without fail. While paying these tributes, they nurtured the sinister design against the king. Thus, the king commanded saying the Ayutthaya king to dismiss them immediately from their posts and brought to the royal foot. King's trusted servants were appointed to rule over these towns. Taxes of gold and silver had to be delivered annually without interruption. Largesses were to be sent thrice a year i.e., the beginning of the Lent, the end of the Lent and Myanmar New Year. High ranking officials were placed at the helm of all ports. Sittke' was instituted in Tenasserim and so was the knowledgeable person in Tavoy. For the sake of people, laity and monks alike, balances, kyat, mu, pe, basket, tin.,

²⁴⁸ *Songkram*

sayut and pyi were all standardized the same as in the capital. Ten thousand landmarks were erected between Tenasserim and Hanthawadi as well as Tavoy and the royal city.

The conquest of the kingdom of Ayutthaya was due to the fact that the king paid heed to the advice of Ottama Thiri Zeya Thura. The king took to heart that accepting the counsel of Ottama Thiri Zeya Thura was tantamount to the patterns of Naga king Da Hta Rahta who listening to the advise of a young Naga lad and could conquer Baranasi, of king Ra Ta Pu Ha in Karmanaki treatise who heeding the words of minister Thaynaka and could win over a country and of King Alaung Sithu who gave ears to the suggestion of Sukatae and could rule over countries of Kala. The king then said a great Udone Mawgun (words which should be remembered for long): "Ottama Thiri Zeya Thura's intervention was a rare thing to happen." The king bestowed upon him a grand insignias.

As Ottama Thiri Zeya Thura's affairs was concurrent with the Lord of life, the Just king's struggle, here ends one chapter of the royal campaign for the conquest of the rebellion of Ayutthaya and Lin Zin.

4.5. Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon

Of the three different texts of Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon, two texts are ascribed to court Minister Letwe Nawrahta. One of these texts is part 5 in the Myanmar Min Mya Ayedawbon. It is about the struggle of King Alaungpaya. The following is the translation of section relating to Siam which concerns the failed campaign of King Alaungpaya in 1760. It forms the portion taking pages 531-534 of the Ayedawbon.

..... On the eleventh waxing day of Waso, ME 1121²⁴⁹, King Alaungpaya, after leaving the Crown prince to garrison the royal city, came to make a libation at the large resthouse built on the premises of Dagon Hair Relics Pagoda. When the king together with his queens and sons went downstream accompanied by a large number of boats and reached Prome via Kyauk Myaung, thirteen strokes of lightening struck concurrently on such places as a door, a saw pit, an elephant mooring post and a horse

²⁴⁹ 20 July 1759

stable in Naypyidaw. On the fifteenth waxing day of Tawthalin²⁵⁰, the king came down from Prome to Yangon and poured water of libation at the Kaung-mu-daw resthouse. After paying a pilgrimage to Pago Shwe Maw Daw and Thanlynn Kyaik Kauk pagodas, the king planned to return home.

At that moment, he was informed of the news that the slaves of Ayutthaya king encroached upon the peripheries of Tavoy confiscated the sampans sent to that city and forbade and controlled the three ships bound for Yangon harbour. Hearing this, the king ordered his queens, sons and daughters to upstream to Naypyitaw as he would march on Ayutthaya with his second son Myedu min. As the royal order was such, the wise men consulted themselves and said that since they were the beneficiaries of the king, he should be warned of by them. In verse thirteen of the letter 'the coming down of thunderclap' submitted by Seida Kyaw Thu, a court bard of the king's son Badon, the omen portended as 'no longer enjoy living in a palace made of saw planks.' They told the king that according to the horoscope, the king's fortune was not good for that year. The destination to which the king would march was ill-fitting. The Yodaya men were skillful at *Yatra*. It was also in conformity with the predestined event of King Nyaung Yan's march to Hseni. If marched on, the king would have to suffer pain.

The King, however, did not heed the advice. On the third waxing day of Pyatho month²⁵¹, the King, flanked by his son Myedu min and the whole army, came down to Yangon. On arrival at Mottama, he came to know that the royal sevice man Banya Dala of Pago, in conspiring with Talapun, planned to rebel against the king. Banya Dala was sentenced to death and the king appointed a Talaing service man Daw Ta lwe to guard the Mottama town. On reaching Tavoy, the king waited five days for all ships, sampans and boats sailing in the sea to arrive back and when the infantry units arrived, march on to invest Tenasserim. From there, the army courageously fought a host of the Ayutthaya king found at Salin creek²⁵². Moreover, at the entrance of the city beyond Byat-bi²⁵³ and Ratbi²⁵⁴, the army confronted a large

²⁵⁰ 21 September 1759

²⁵¹ 21 December 1759

²⁵² near Kui buri

²⁵³ Phetburi

²⁵⁴ Rutburi

number of elephantry and cavalry units and a strength of 20000 soldiers stationed in front of the Panlwin village located near the sea. They were pulverized and most of them drowned at sea. One hundred elephants and a thousand guns were captured. The army had to bury thirty big canons and one hundred and fifty small canons since they could not carry them away. From thence, the king marched on Thaphanbon.²⁵⁵ An Ayutthaya minister commandeered forces of three hundred elephants, three thousand horses and thirty thousand men to repulse the attack. However, the king's army overran them and captured the minister together with his elephant alive. From there, the king marched on Ayutthaya and camped at Baar Naung Bentun in the north of the capital.

As for the minister captured at Thaphanbon, the king said; "there is no chance of winning Ayutthaya by killing him. Let him go back to his lord." Therein the minister was freed. King's officers sent a message to the Siamese nobles to the following effect:

'That as the religion of Buddha was not prospering in Ayutthaya, our sovereign had made a circuit of your country to promote the welfare and prosperity of Buddha's religion; the Ayutthaya king had neither welcome, offered elephants, horses and royal children nor issued a challenge to fight an open battle; but our lord, aspiring to attain Buddhahood, had released the Thai noble captured at Thaphanbon.'

The Siamese retorted that during the present cycle of the world only five Buddhas were to appear, of whom four, namely, Kakuthan, Gawnagon, Kathapa and Gawtama had already appeared and entered Neikban²⁵⁶ and there was only Maitreya Buddha to appear, but he was still in Tusita heaven: "Which Embryo Buddha was His Myanmar Majesty of the King, as it was five Buddhas at the most that appeared in any one cycle, and never was there any precedent in which a sixth Buddha appeared".

While stationed at Baar Naung Bentun, Thingyan²⁵⁷ fell on the eleventh waxing day of Tagu and passed over into the New Year. As the king suffered illness, he refrained from attacking the town. He only ordered the capture of prisoners of war. Awed and affrighted, the king of Ayutthaya dared not come out and arranged only for

²⁵⁵ *Supanburi*

²⁵⁶ *Nibbana*

²⁵⁷ *water festival*

the defence of the city. On the second waxing day of Kason in ME 1122²⁵⁸, the king ordered the commanders to assemble and said: "Now is the time for the rainy season. However much we besiege the town intensively, it would be difficult for the elephants, horses and the army to find dry ground. The city of Ayutthaya is difficult to subdue, surrounded by marshes, streams, rivers and sea". The minister Minhla Min Gaung then replied: 'The nature of war was that if fought instantly, it can be easily won over. However, if we besieged and waged a long and protracted war, endemic diseases could normally break out for there exist an abundance of gnats, flies and mosquitoes. If we retreated at this time and invest again, the city would not be escape from the royal hands. We know the martial prowess of Ayutthaya men and so do they.'

The king agreed and said: 'The army will be going to retreat tomorrow. The king's son Myedu min should follow behind me. All the left wing, right wing and rear guard should not be scattered and follow in sequence. When the king of Ayutthaya learns of this, he will surely chase us out. Rear guard with the strength of 3000 guns, 300 horses and 5500 soldiers should be under the command of Minhla Nawrahta and Min Hla Min Gaung.' The king's army retreated on the third waxing day (Thursday) of Kason month²⁵⁹. As soon as the Ayutthaya king heard of this, he declaimed that if he attacked the Myanmar army in retreat, with a strength of 1000 elephants, 10000 horses, 10000 guns and 50000 soldiers, even Saka's troops could not resist and came out of the city to pursue the Myanmar army. Minhla Nawrahta and Minhla Min Gaung deployed the troops forming two fronts – left wing and right wing and repulsed the attack. The Ayutthaya army was pushed back. Constant shooting of guns and the explosion of canon fire by the Myanmar rear guards prevailed at that spot for a day or two. As the supply unit of the army was far distant from them, they followed the main army slowly. From that day onwards, the Ayutthaya army was afraid to pursue them saying: 'Our martial prowess could not parallel that of Myanmar's. We couldn't crush them even in their retreat.'

²⁵⁸ 16 April 1960

²⁵⁹ 17 April 1760

On the third waxing day of Kason month in ME 1122²⁶⁰, the king's army withdrew from the Yodaya town Baar Naung Betum. On the twelfth waxing day of the same month²⁶¹, the king arrived at Kin village in the district of Mottama and he died on the third watch of the night. But the death of the king was not known to even ministers, officers who assisted the ministers, commanders and second in command and anybody else. Innards and blood were taken out and grains of salt were put in the corpse to the fullest. The corpse, rolled up with cerecloth, was bound tightly with bamboo slats. It was made to be seen as lifelike as the natural appearance of the king and was placed on his usual palanquin and carried over. Everyone knew the passing away of the king only when it was shifted to the royal raft in Yangon. Myedu min sent Shwetaung Nawrahta and Minhla Nawrahta to the Chief queen, his brother Crown prince to inform them of the king's death. After hearing the news at the night of the 8th waxing day of Nayon²⁶², the crown prince ascended the throne the next morning, the 9th day of Nayon in ME 1122²⁶³.

Lord of life King Alaung Mintaya was endowed with the strength of relation and fighting ability. He also had power and glory. Wherever he saw, he conquered most of the time. Whatever he thought, he achieved it in the end. He made relentless effort in whatever he did. He possessed far sightedness, believed in the three gems, bestowed great rewards to brave soldiers, was courageous and firm. He lived thirty eight years before ascending the throne, enjoyed eight years in king's comfort, and died at the age of forty six. As his days were numbered, thirteen strokes of lightning fell down concurrently in Naypyitaw.

The banyan tree that never flowered before flowered. During the preparatory time for marching to Ayutthaya, young children sang a Taboung²⁶⁴: 'Wipe out the tears and make a reverse turn.' When he ascended the throne, he recited the 'Ahta Yeza Mingalar Gahta'. Hearing this, the wise men predicted that the king would stay only eight years on the throne.

²⁶⁰ 17 April 1760

²⁶¹ 11 May 1760

²⁶² 6 June 1760

²⁶³ 7 June 1760

²⁶⁴ Omen



CHAPTER V: Analysis and Discussion

5.1. Introduction

Since the days of yore, Myanmar literati left invaluable records on the campaigns and achievements of the great kings they served. This kind of historical record is called Ayedawbon treatise. The Myanmar term 'Ayedawbon' is synonymous with the Thai terms, Chotmai het or Kotmai het and they deal with account or report on particular events.²⁶⁵

As Ayedawbon treatises are full of fascinating details, contemporaneous and reliable, it is essential to study these treatises and make comparison with Myanmar chronicles in doing research work on Siam-Myanmar relations from 16th to 19th century through the perspective of Ayedawbon treatises.

As mentioned earlier, Yazawin or Chronicles are distinguished from Ayedawbon treatises by the fact that Yazawin are accounts of many reigns and dynasties, whereas an Ayedawbon treatise focuses on a specific king and his struggle in a particular period in history.

Ayedawbon treatises supplement the records which are in the main Myanmar Chronicles. Most Ayedawbon texts have been summarized in the well known Myanmar Chronicles like U Kala's Maha Yazawingyi, Glass Palace Chronicle, etc. However, Ayedawbon treatises gave far more detailed accounts in the events recorded.

This happens because most Ayedawbon preceded the Chronicles. For example, Rajadirit Ayedawbon by Banya Dala and Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon by court minister Rajataman (Oke-tha-raw) in Taungoo period were written before the appearance of the first fullscale Myanmar Chronicle U Kala's Maha Yazawingyi in the late Nyaung Yan period. Similarly, two texts of Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon by Letwe' Nawrahta were contemporary records and the other by Twin Thin Taik Wun Maha Sithu was composed during the reign of King Bodawpaya. To the contrary, Hmannan Yazawindawgyi by a group of learned

²⁶⁵ Aye Kyaw, Dr. *'Burmese sources for Lan Na Thai History*, p. 247.

persons appeared in King Bagyidaw's reign and U Maung Maung Tin's Konbounset Maha Yazawindawgyi was compiled only in the early British colonial period.

As a result, many parts of these Ayedawbon were summarized in Myanmar Chronicles. In his colophon to the shorter version (Chevilliot 3452, India Office Library), U Kala mentioned three earlier works he used among others by name: an Ayedawbon (probably a memoir on the reign of King Rajadirit), a Chronicle written by a Royal Brahmin called Punna Raja Brahmana Yazawin, and Thakkarit Pon (a work on chronological dates).²⁶⁶

Therefore, the contemporary writers of Ayedawbon gave more detailed accounts than the Chroniclers. For example, in Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon, the author Rajataman (Oke-the-raw) records the achievements of King Bayintnaung like constructing new towns of Amyawadi and Kalay which are not found in Maha Yazawingyi²⁶⁷ and Hmannan Yazawindawgyi²⁶⁸.

In the same Ayedawbon, the author also writes that before embarking on each campaign, King Bayintnaung invariably listens to the wise counsel of ministers at the court and examines the astrological configurations. And at the end of each event, a precedent for such success was given for each case. All these literary structures or arrangements were excluded in Myanmar Chronicles.

Likewise, Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon gave more detailed account in transporting the corpse of King Alaungpaya back to the capital city of Innwa.

There is also some discrepancies between Ayedawbon and Chronicle concerning the immediate cause for war of 1563. In Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon, Ayutthaya's infringe on Chiangmai and Yunzalin was given as a bone of contention whereas Maha Yazawingyi and Siamese Chronicles stipulated that the request for a white elephant by King Bayintnaung was the casus belli of the war.

Rajadirit Ayedawbon covered the period from King Wareru (Magadu) to the death of King Rajadirit. It is an interesting work of literature containing full of heroic struggles of Mon and Myanmar soldiers, court intrigues, rebellions and so on. But in Myanmar Chronicles, the part from Magadu to King Banya Nwe, father of King

²⁶⁶ Tet Htoot, *"The nature of the Burmese Chronicles, p. 53.*

²⁶⁷ *Great Chronicle*

²⁶⁸ *Glass Palace Chronicle*

Rajadirit were totally left out and emphasis was given only to Myanmar King Min Gaung. The whole Ayedawbon was reduced to a tiny portion.

In closer examination on Ayedawbon kyans, we have found some important historical facts and the literary works such as attitudes and temperament of Myanmar kings who style themselves as rulers of 101 kings (*Cakravartin*) while adopting the concept of *mandala* (sphere of influence) in Siam-Myanmar warfare.

5.2. Important historical facts

The cause for the war of the white elephant, that is, King Bayintnaung's request for a white elephant from the Ayutthaya court has long been a puzzle for the historians of both countries. Some historians simply stated that the request was made because Ayutthaya king had four white elephants in possession. They even suggested that Ayutthaya was thought of as a subordinate kingdom of Hanthawadi by Bayintnaung. Others assumed that King Bayintnaung gave this issue as an excuse for the invasion of Siam.

Since the founding of Bagan period, white elephant was considered as one of the seven jewels²⁶⁹ of the Universal monarch. In the Myakan inscription of Bagan, King Kyansittha (1084-1111) is simply referred to as a *Cakravartin*, the exalted, mighty, and universal monarch who rides upon a white elephant.²⁷⁰ Since then, the belief widely held by the Myanmar kings is that the possession of white elephants would bring power, success and prosperity to the country. A number of Myanmar kings have as one of the titles *Hsin Phyu Shin*. Literally, *Hsin Phyu Shin* means possessor of the white elephant. In other words, it is synonymous with the king who possessed great merit. Every king endowed with the power and glory must possess at least one white elephant and would like to be addressed as the possessor of the white elephant.

On the other hand, I am of the opinion that Bayintnaung need not devise any stratagem whatsoever to invade Ayutthaya. He had his own free will to do so.

²⁶⁹ *the wheel treasure, the gem treasure, the queen treasure, the elephant treasure, the horse treasure, the general treasure and the rich man treasure, Sunait Chutintaranond, 'Cakravartin.'* p. 119.

²⁷⁰ *Epigraphia Birmanica: being Lithic and Other Inscriptions of Burma, in Chas. Duoiselle, ed. Archaeological survey of Burma, Vol. I (Rangoon: Government Printing and Stationary, 1960) pp. 120, 142-143, 146: see also, Michael Aung Thwin, Pagan: The Origins of Modern Burma (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985) p. 61.*

Likewise, during the Tabinshwehti's campaign in Siam, King Maha Chakkraphat had to acknowledge defeat and agreed to pay annual tributes, only because Myanmar captured a son, a son in law and a brother of Ayutthaya king and made prisoners. Moreover, King Tabinshwehti could not defeat the metropolis of Ayutthaya. The situation became more complex after the assassination of Tabinshwehti by a Mon rebel Thamein Htaw. It took about 10 years for Bayintnaung to reunify the country. Thus, it is improbable that Bayintnaung in 1563 considered Ayutthaya as a subordinate kingdom of Hanthawadi.

In U Kala's *Maha Yazawingyi*, King Bayintnaung clearly pronounced that during his younger brother Tabinshwehti's reign, Ayutthaya happened to be a satellite state of Hanthawadi. If one of the four white elephants were given as requested, the relationship between the two countries would be harmonious like land and water.²⁷¹

To be recognized as a *Cakravartin* king, Bayintnaung must possess one white elephant. Rajadirit Ayedawbon reveals that there were precedents of sending white elephants from Siam to Ramanya desa during the reigns of King Waru (Magadu) and King Rajadirit. Thus, it is likely that King Bayintnaung who had no white elephant took these examples and asked for a white elephant from Siam. Taking all these facts into consideration, we can draw the conclusion that *Ayedawbon kyans played an important role in disentangling the enigma which has long been unresolved in the history of both Siam and Myanmar.*

The concept of *Cakravartin* was found in various ancient sources. *Cakra* means 'a wheel or circle, then a disk and a discus (especially that of Vishnu), and *vartin* implies one who turns. Thus, the literal meaning of *cakravartin* is 'wheel turner or wheel turning king.'²⁷²

With the power of *cakra*, a *cakravartin* who possesses great merit and seven jewels rule four great continents through dharma. According to Abhidhammakosa of Vasubandhu cited by John S. Strong, there are four possible types of *cakravartin*: the golden-wheeled *cakravartin* (*suvarna-cakravartin*) who rules all four continents of the world; the silver-wheeled *cakravartin* (*rupya-cakravartin*) who rules three continents; the copper-wheeled *cakravartin* (*tamra-cakravartin*) whose sovereignty

²⁷¹ Kala, U, *'Maha Yazawingyi*, p. 332.

²⁷² Sunait Chutintaranond, *'Cakravartin*, ' p. 85-95.

extends to two continents; and iron-wheeled *cakravartin* (*ayas-cakravartin*) who rules only Jumbudipa Island.²⁷³ Moreover, *Cakravartin* can be of two kinds. One who uses method of non-violence i.e., Dharma, and the other who resorts to violent means. In Myanmar, a *Cakravartin* king is known as Sekyawade min whereas *Chakkraphat* is the Siamese rendering of *Cakravartin*.

Bayintnaung is shown in Hanthawaddy Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon as a great Universal monarch who extended his *mandala* or sphere of influence up to Lan Na, Lin Zin and Ayutthaya. In the Southeast Asian context, the political domain or circle of kings of these *cakravartin* is called *mandala*. The *mandala* of Myanmar and Siamese kings was in theory the entire Jumbudipa Island. However, it was impossible for one king to rule the whole Jumbudipa because it extended 10,000 *yojana* (1 *yojana* is about 9.94 statute miles).²⁷⁴ Thus, they had to create their own *mandala*.

At first, Myanmar *mandala* did not reach the eastern flank of the country. It was King Bayintnaung who extended the Myanmar *mandala* up to Lan Na, Lin Zin, and Ayutthaya. From then on, successive Myanmar kings had royal duties to subdue all these regions. The Ayutthaya *mandala* included Lan Na, Lin Zin, Cambodia, the Malay Peninsula, and lower part of Myanmar (Mon kingdom and Tenasserim). As the Myanmar *mandala* coincide with that of Siam, the clashes between the two countries rage on for centuries.

In *mandala* system, there were no fixed boundaries and no bureaucratic apparatus. Moreover, kings tried not to centralize the administration over provincial rulers but gave them independence in their internal affairs so long as they remained loyal and obligated.²⁷⁴ By doing so, they could draw support from their client states in times of war and demand annual tributes in times of peace. This system was further supported by kinship and marriage ties.

Bayintnaung was the one who gave the status back to the previous ruler when he acquired new lands. He also did much to spread Buddhism to the lands he conquered. Bayintnaung probably emulated the characteristics of *Cakravartin* and

²⁷³ John S. Strong, *The Legend of King Asoka: a Study and Translation of the Asokawadana* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), p. 61.

²⁷⁴ Sunait Chutintaranond, 'Cakravartin,' p. 296-97.

acted as both *balacakravartin* (armed *Cakravartin*) and the defender or supporter of the faith.

In Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon also, the author mentions that the White prince, brother of King Bya Narit (Naresuan), was captured in the battle and ransomed with canons and bronze statues from Ayutthaya. Though this information needs verifying, it is a rare fact which was not mentioned in Myanmar and Siamese chronicles. The similar details are found in other Ayedawbons.

There are mentions of interactions between Myanmar and the early kingdoms of Siam such as Chiangmai, Sukothai, etc., in the Rajadirit Ayedawbon. In the same Ayedawbon, the author Banyā Dala describes the event of sending a white elephant from Ayutthaya to Hanthawadi.

Likewise, Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon reveals the fall of Hanthawadi in 1599, a period corresponding with King Naresuan's exploits into Myanmar from 1584 to 1606. Nevertheless, after the end of Naresuan's reign, Innwa-Ayutthaya relations seem to have been largely cooperative and friendly.²⁷⁵ The author Letwe Nawrahta of Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon recorded an account of the exchange of emissaries between Ayutthaya and Innwa at the end of the Nyaung Yan period.

The conflict flared up again in 1759 due to the infringement of Ayutthaya forces in the peripheries of Tavoy. Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon ends with Alaungpaya's failed campaign to Ayutthaya in 1760. This period corresponds to that of King Ekathat. If all these Ayedawbons combined, they registered the continuous events from 1284 to 1760 CE, thus providing uninterrupted history for the scholars of both Myanmar and Thailand.

5.3. Attitudes and temperament of Myanmar kings

We have found some panegyric as well as derogatory writings in Ayedawbons especially in Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon. In the episode of the first fall of Ayutthaya, the author Razataman (Oke-the-raw) mentioned that the king who ruled over Avicchapura (Aweishapura) entertained heretical belief, formulating an insidious ideas and made alliance with La Waik and Lin Zin as Devadatta and Ajartathat conspired against Lord Buddha. While drawing an analogy between Lord

²⁷⁵ Chris Baker, *Editor's preface, Our wars with the Burmese, white lotus Co. Ltd, 2001, p. xxiv*

Buddha and King Bayintnaung, the author drew another analogy between Devadatta and the Ayutthaya king.

In the same episode, the author writes that when the news of rebellion by Ayutthaya king reached Hathawadi, Lord of life, the Just king declaimed: "Which enemy could withstand the king like me, sovereign over water and land who was unrivalled. They entertained erroneous sentiment to plot against me because they wanted to die. They disgraced my honor and reputation."

The Hsin Phyu May Shin Ayedawbon refers to King Bayintnaung as Lord of life, the Just king, Lord of water and earth, King of the white elephants and Lord of mines of rubies, gold and silver. To the contrary, the author paid disrespect to the Kings of neighboring countries.

This kind of writings is also found in other Ayedawbons. These writings reflect the behavior and attitude of the writers of the time. Evidently, the authors attempted to honor their kings as Cakravartin or a future Buddha. It happens because during the heydays of Myanmar kings, the accepted norm or tradition was to praise highly of king's power and glory while depicting the bad images of the enemy kings. Or, it may concerns with the types of genres of Myanmar literature. Apart from Chronicles, most genres of Myanmar classic literature are replete with panegyric writings. We have seen that Ayedawbon treatises are no exception to this rule.

In making comparison between Siam and Myanmar sources, not only the Ayedawbon treatises, but also standard Myanmar chronicles such as U Kala's *Maha Yazawingyi*²⁷⁶, *Glass Palace Chronicle* and U Maung Maung Tin's *Konbounset Maha Yazawindawgyi* are used. Likewise, I have consulted the following editions from the Thai source: *Laung Prasoet Chronicle*, *Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya* compiled during the early Bangkok period, Prince Damrong's 'Our wars with the Burmese', etc. Thus, before conducting a comparative study, the brief background of these chronicles should also be explained.

5.4. Siamese sources

The oldest extant Phonsawadan is *Laung Prasoet* version thought to have been written by a court script or astrologer in the reign of King Narai in 1680 and

²⁷⁶ *Great chronicle*

rediscovered in 1907. It is an abridged chronicle of events from 1324 to 1608. The text was discovered and published by Luang Prasoet, with the above title, Bangkok, 1907.

The Ayutthaya court had a tradition of compiling chronicles (Phonsawadan) which recorded important events of each reign. However, Ayutthaya was destroyed in 1767 and as a result, almost all chronicles were lost. Thus, many versions of the chronicles were revised in the early years of the Bangkok period.

Of all these chronicles, *Phan Chanthanumat* (Chronicle of Ayudhya) written by Chaophraya Phiphitphichai at the order of Rama I is the most important. It gives the history of Ayudhya from 1351 to 1767. It also covers the Thonburi period. It is referred to as “1157” by Michael Vickery after its date in the Cula era.

Among the chronicles compiled during the early Bangkok periods, one important version is *The British Museum chronicle of Ayutthaya*, an Ayutthaya chronicle unearthed by a senior Thai historian, Mr. Kachorn Sukhabanij, in 1958.²⁷⁷

Another momentous version is *Nangsu Ruang Phraratchaphongsawadan* (Royal Chronicle) by Somdet Phra Phonnarat of Wat Phra Chettuphon. It was based on the “1157” text above. It chronicles events from the foundation of Ayudhya until 1792. It was first published by D.B. Bradley in 2 volumes, Bangkok, 1863. Modern Thai edition is *The Somdaet Phra Phonnarat Chronicle of Ayudhya*, Bangkok, Khlang Witthaya, 1962. There is a new edition published from the manuscript. It is different from Bradley's version.

Still another significant version is *the Royal Autograph version of Ayutthaya chronicles* compiled in 1855 and published with an introduction by Prince Damrong in 1914.²⁷⁸ It is the first historical work which has been used as a standard for writing Thai national history. It was written in the reign of King Monkut and published in the year 1912, under the title *Phongsawadanchabap Phrarachathlekha* (The Royal Authgraph Chronicle). Two years after its first publication, it was revised with additional research on particular subjects such as the coming of the Tai people to the

²⁷⁷ Sunait Chutintaranond. "Suriyothai in the Context of Thai-Myanmar History and Historical perception." *From Fact to Fiction: History of Thai-Myanmar Relations in Cultural Context*. 2001. p 33.

²⁷⁸ Christ Baker, "Editing this translation." *Our Wars with The Burmese: Thai-Burmese Conflict 1539-1767*. White Lotus Co. Ltd. Thailand. 2001. p xxvii.

Chaophraya River basin and the early history of Siam before the Ayudhya period. It then becomes “*the first piece of work that proposes a total outline of Thai history, starting from the origin of the Thai people, to the first kingdom of Sukhothai, Ayutthaya and to Bangkok.*” It is in this work that the kingdom of Ayudhya and Thonburi are clearly referred to as *Sayam Prathet* and the idea of wars for national liberation and independence is first introduced in the tradition of Thai historiography.²⁷⁹ Other versions of Royal Ayutthaya chronicles compiled during the early Bangkok period were: Phra Cakkraphatdiphong (?) Khurusapha press, 1961, Thanburi Fragment (1779) Khurusapha press, etc.

“*Thai Rop Phama*” by Prince Damrong was first published in 1917. It was about 24 wars between Siam and Myanmar from 1539 to 1767. It was reprinted in 1932, 1951, 1958, 1962, 1963, 1964 and 1971 and translated into English under the title “*Our Wars with the Burmese*” by Phra Phaison Sararak (U Aung Thein) in the Journal of the Burma Research Society in 1955, 1957 and 1958. It casts a long shadow over later historical writing, especially textbooks written for Thai schools and colleges.²⁸⁰

5.5. Myanmar source

The first full scale Myanmar Yazawin or Chronicle²⁸¹ was written by U Kala, during the reign of Tanninganwe min (1714-33) in the late Nyaungyan dynasty.²⁸² It covers the period of the Buddhist kings in ancient India to the reign of Tanninganwe min. There are three versions of U Kala’s Magnum Opus; *Maha Yazawin Gyi* (the great chronicle in twenty one volumes), *Yazawin Lat* (the shorter version in ten volumes) and *Yazawin Choke* (the brief chronicle in one volume).²⁸³ The Maha Yazawingyi became a model for later chronicles and in fact it is the principal basis of the Hmannan Chronicle in which large portions of it are incorporated verbatim.

In 1829, an official chronicle *Hmannan Yazawindawgyi* by a royal historical commission of thirteen learned scholars was compiled during the reign of King

²⁷⁹ *Sunait Chutintaranond. and Than Tun. On Both Sides of the Tenasserim Range: History of Siamese Burmese Relations. Chulalongkorn University Phayathai, Bangkok 10330, Thailand 1995. p21.*

²⁸⁰ *Ibid* p 24.

²⁸¹ *Maha Yazawingyi*

²⁸² U Tin Ohn, “*Modern Historical Writing in Burmese 1724-1942*”, *Historians of South East Asia*, D.G.E. Hall, editor, (London: Oxford University press, 1961), Page 86.

²⁸³ *Ibid*, Page 87.

Bagyidaw. This chronicle is called "Hmannan Yazawindawgyi or Glass Palace Chronicle" because compilation work was done in the front chamber of the Palace of Glass. It begins with the first king of the world Mahasamata and ends with the early reign of King Bagyidaw. In fact, it is the continuation of U Kala's Maha Yazawingyi. It was published in book form, volume 1 in 1883 and vol.2 in 1884 by the order of King Thibaw at the Royal Palace Press and has been reprinted several times.

The second official chronicle by a group of scholars was compiled at the order of King Mindon (1853-78), the penultimate king of Konboun dynasty. It covers the events from the reign of King Bagyidaw to the early reign of King Mindon. They were added to the Hmannan Yazawindawgyi and this chronicle is called "*the Second Maha Yazawindawgyi*".

During the early British colonial period, U Maung Maung Tin (1) completed the eras of the last two kings of Konboun period and compiled his chronicle called "*Konbounset Mahayazawindawgyi*". It is a continuation to the Second Maha Yazawindawgyi. As the name of this chronicle suggests, it covers the period from King Alaungpaya to the last king Thibaw.

5.6. War of the White Elephants

In his book 'Our wars with the Burmese', Prince Damrong claimed that he would not agree with what was stated in the Myanmar chronicles that King Maha Chakkraphat had been taken away to Hanthawadi with his son Prince Remesuan while leaving Prince Mahin on the throne of Siam. He reasoned that it could not be so because during the final stage of war, King Bayintnaung offered King Maha Chakkraphat to come to the amicable settlement. Prince Damrong holds the view that if it were a matter of taking away Somdet Pra Maha Chakkraphat, the Siamese would not have agreed to become friends!²⁸⁴

The Siamese chronicles also mentioned to the effect that after the war, King of Hanthawadi increased the number of white elephants he would take from two to four, brought the Prince Remesuan, son of King Maha Chakkraphat and some mandarins who preferred to make war with Hanthawadi rather than yielding up the white elephant to Hanthawadi and took his army home. Moreover, some Siamese chronicles

²⁸⁴ Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince, 'Our wars with the Burmese' Thai-Burmese Conflict 1539-1767, White Lotus Co.Lit, Thailand, 2001, p. 41.

stated that King Maha Chakkraphat saw the King of Hanthawadi off up to Kamphaengphet on the latter's return journey to the royal city of Hanthawadi.²⁸⁵

To the contrary, Myanmar chronicles stated that when Myanmar army placed the big guns and fired into the city, King Maha Chakkraphat could not withstand the power of these guns and accordingly sent a letter to King Bayintnaung which said: 'if Your Majesty would permit the Pra Mahin on the throne and spare the life of the king of Siam, I would gladly wait on at the royal foot.'²⁸⁶ King Bayintnaung gave his consent to it and placed the Prince Mahin on the throne as a tributary king to Hanthawadi. He brought the Siamese king, Prince Bya Ramathun (Pra Remesuan), some mandarins and four white elephants as a spoil of war.²⁸⁷

Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon did not mention the request made by King Bayintnaung for a white elephant to the king of Siam as well as taking away of the Siamese king to Hanthawadi. Instead, Ayutthaya's infringe on Chiangmai and Yunzalin was given as a bone of contention between the two countries.²⁸⁸ It also mentioned a detailed event of the war, carrying off numerous skilled laborers and artiste, and the administrative and religious measures taken by the king in Ramaya desa and in Siam, etc.

Since the Siamese chronicles said that king of Siam could not have been carried away to Hanthawadi, there's a wide discrepancy between the histories of the two countries. According to the Siamese history, King Maha Chakkraphat, upon request of the King of Lang Chang, first delivered Phra Kaeo Fa, his daughter born of a minor queen to Lang Chang in order to seal the alliance with the Lao King. When she was sent back to Ayutthaya on the ground that she was not the daughter of the brave Queen Suriyothai, he sent another daughter Phra Thepkasattri, a descendant of Somdet Phra Suriyothai to be the chief queen of Lang Chang. She was probably the one who had donned soldier's garb to ride out against Myanmar forces encircling Ayutthaya in 1549. This information was somehow leaked, the party sent by the

²⁸⁵ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya. Translated by Richard D Cushman. Edited by David K Wyatt,*

The Siam Society under Royal Patronage 2000. p 49.

²⁸⁶ Kala, U. *Maha Yazawindawgyi, V II. Yarpyi publishing house, Yangon, 2006, p 272.*

²⁸⁷ *Ibid, p 275.*

²⁸⁸ *Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon, 6 Volumes of Ayedawbons or Myanmar Min Mya Ayedawbons, Nan Myint Sarpay, p. 357.*

Siamese was intercepted by a contingent of King Bayintnaung and the princess was taken to Hanthawadi. King Maha Chakkraphat was said to be dishonoured by that event and entered monkhood.²⁸⁹

In Myanmar chronicles, there is no mention of such events. Instead, it is said that King Maha Chakkraphat requested the King of Hanthawadi to allow him to enter priesthood and to propagate the Buddhist Sasana in Siam. The permission was granted. He together with his daughter in law, the wife of Pra Remesuan, was sent back to Ayutthaya. As for Pra Remesuan, he was said to have taken part in the Myanmar king's march to Laos and died during the campaign. As soon as King Maha Chakkraphat had arrived Ayutthaya, he left the monkhood and compassed conspiracy against the King of Hanthawadi.

In judging these important events, we should take into consideration the characteristics of King Bayintnaung. He adopted the practice of giving the conquered land back to the previous rulers, making them subordinate kings to Hanthawadi when he acquired new territories. It is therefore possible that King Maha Chakkraphat was giving back his previous status. But it is less likely that King of Hanthawadi agreed to befriend King Maha Chakkraphat when Ayutthaya was about to fall in his grasp. What's more, it is not fitting to consent to a friendship with the king who turned down his request for a white elephant in the first place.

When King Bayintnaung was celebrating the occupation of a new palace in Hanthawadi, double roofed white houses of royal standard were built to provide accommodation for the four dethroned kings such as Ava Kings Moe bye' Narapati and Sagaing Sithu Kyaw Htin (Innwa Narapati Sithu), King of Chiangmai Meku and Ayutthaya King Maha Chakkraphat.²⁹⁰

In stanzas 77 and 84 of *Minye Kyawswa Soun egyin* by court minister Yaza Bahu (Commander of the 3000 royal barges), a contemporary writer of the time, mentioned that Maha Chakkraphat, the former king of Ayutthaya and the captive of Bayintnaung in Hanthawadi after the battle of 1563, entered the monkhood and received Bayintnaung's permission to leave for Ayutthaya on a pilgrimage. Yaza

²⁸⁹ Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince, 'Our wars with the Burmese'; *Thai-Burmese Conflict 1539-1767*, White Lotus Co.Lit, Thailand, 2001, p. 41.

²⁹⁰ Kala, U. Maha Yazawingyi, V II. Yarpyi publishing house, Yangon, 2006, p 301.

Bahu accuses him of being a traitor because he refused to follow orders from Hanthawadi after returning to Ayutthaya.²⁹¹ Likewise, the poet Shin Myat Khaung of *Thakhin Gyi Eigyin* accuses the king of Ayutthaya of cunning by entering the monkhood after he had given up himself as a slave to Bayintnaung.²⁹²

5.7. The first fall of Ayutthaya (War of 1569)

According to Prince Damrong, the cause for war of 1569 was connected with the rift between Phra Maha Thammaracha of Phitsanulok and King Mahin of Ayutthaya. The discrepancy between Myanmar and Siamese chronicles regarding the whereabouts of King Maha Chakkraphat, whether in Ayutthaya or Hanthawadi after the war of the white elephants, is still confusing.

Myanmar chronicles stated that the deposed king Chakkraphat was accommodated in a double roofed white house of royal standard in Hanthawadi. After some time, he appealed to the king for allowing him to enter monkhood which was granted and the king provided all the four requisites of monks for him. King Maha Chakkraphat then asked to pay homage to the religious edifices in Ayutthaya and it was also permitted. At that time, the widow of Pra Remesuan entreated the King to let her family stay in Ayutthaya. They were all allowed and sent with the head guard named Minister Raza Manu. Before reaching Ayutthaya, the minister and the wife of Pra Remesuan had an affair. When His majesty of Hanthawadi knew of it, he became absolutely livid and had the minister killed. Another minister by the name of Zala Thin Yan was assigned to lead the group. Barely had they arrived Ayutthaya when King Maha Chakkraphat discarded the robe and murdered Zala Thin Yan.

Phra Maha Thammaracha heard all of it and said to himself: 'The King of Siam should not commit such a treacherous act. He should not provoke King of Hanthawadi's wrath. I should be staying at the royal foot.' He then marched with his army to Hanthawadi and arrived on the 12th May 1568. The king of Hanthawadi was very much delighted and gave him a crown, a white umbrella and a title of Sawbwa Thaug Kyi. In Siamese, Sawbwa Thaug Kyi means Chaofa Song Khwae or Chaofa Phitsanulok.²⁹³

²⁹¹ *Min Ye Kyawzwa Soun eigyin, Stanza 77, Stanza 84*

²⁹² *Thakhin Gyi eigyin, Stanza 25*

²⁹³ *Kala, U. Maha Yazawingyi, V II. Yarpyi publishing house, Yangon, 2006, p 303-304.*

When they heard that Phra Maha Thammaracha had gone to Hanthawadi, King Maha Chakkraphat and King Mahin marched to Phitsanulok and brought down his daughter Phra Wisut Kasattri, the chief queen, her son and daughter and the rich persons to Ayutthaya. King Maha Chakkraphat also strengthened the defence of Ayutthaya. On hearing this, King of Hanthawadi said that the eater of Ayutthaya did not keep loyalty to him. He and King Mahin plotted this simply because fortune now favored Sawbwa Thaung Kyi to rule Ayutthaya as king.

His Majesty then sent the four armies each led by Sawbwa Thaung Kyi, Banya Law, Banya Kyan and Banya Payan with the strength of three hundred war elephants, three thousand horses and sixty thousand soldiers to guard the town of Phitsanulok. His Majesty himself planned to march on Ayutthaya at the end of the rainy season. When the combined forces of King of Ayutthaya and King of Lang Chang infringed upon Phitsanulok, Sawbwa Thaung Kyi and the three Banyas successfully repulsed the attack.

To the contrary, what was mentioned in the Siamese sources is that King Maha Chakkraphat, upon request of King of Lang Chang, sent Phra Kaeo Fa, his daughter born of a minor queen instead of Phra Thepkasattri, a descendent of Somdet Phra Suriyothai who was ill at that time. When the King of Lang Chang found out the truth, he sent Phra Kaeo Fa back to Ayutthaya and insisted on receiving Phra Thepkasattri. King Maha Chakkraphat obliged to send the Princess but the information was seeped out. When Phra Maha Thammaracha came to know all the arrangements, he tipped off the information to the King of Hanthawadi about the affairs of giving away the Princess to King of Lang Chang. His Majesty of Hanthawadi then dispatched a platoon to lie in wait and interrupted the party sent by the Siamese on its journey to Lang Chang and the Princess was brought to Hanthawadi.

Prince Damrong said in his book 'Our wars with the Burmese' that His majesty King Chakkraphat felt dishonoured by the event, entered monkhood and gave the throne to his son Phra Mahin. Other Siamese chronicles simply stated that King Maha Chakkraphat ordained as a monk in the eighth month, a year of the tiger, sixth of the decade. Officials in great numbers ordained as monks to accompany the king.

When Phra Mahin ascended the throne, there developed a rift between Phra Maha Thammaracha and Phra Mahin. With the power of King of Hanthawadi behind him, Phra Maha Thammaracha disputed the authority of Phra Mahin. Phra Mahin had to tolerate in most cases for fear of the power of King of Hanthawadi. As the situation was such, Phra Mahin harbored animosity against his brother in law Phra Maha Thammaracha.²⁹⁴

In 1566 CE, the allied forces of Phra Mahin and King of Lang Chang attacked the town of Phitsanulok but to no avail. When the war was over, Phra Maha Thammaracha went to Hanthawadi and was received the title Sawbwa Thaug Kyi by King of Hanthawadi. Foreseeing the imminent danger of the invasion of Hanthawadi, Phra Mahin implored his father to leave the monkhood to ascend the throne so that all the people of the kingdom would be saved. King Maha Chakkraphat consented to accept it and taking advantages of the absence of Phra Maha Thammaracha, they hastened up to Phitsanulok and brought down his daughter Princess Wisut kasattri, chief queen of Phra Maha Thammaracha and the newpew of King Phra Maha Thammaracha. On their return journey to Ayutthaya, King Mahin tried to suppress Khamphanphet but met with failure.

In Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon, when Ayutthaya was besieged by the Myanmar army, King Mahin sent a swift messenger to the King of Lang Chang to help fight the Myanmar king. When the Lang Chang army came down to Ayutthaya to lift the siege of the town, King of Hanthawadi divided his army into 3 groups to confront the reinforcement of the King of Lang Chang: the advance army led by Myanmar Uparat, the king's army in the center and the besieging army encircling the town. The advance army successfully routed the enemy. However, Prince Damrong stated as follows:

“At that time Phrachao Chai Chettha, Chief of Si Sattanakhanahut, brought an army down by way of Muang Phetchabun, hoping to assist Siam. The King of Hongsawadi became aware of it and so consulted Phra Maha Thammaracha. They both came to the decision to use an artifice. They were to humor Phraya Ram (Commander of Ayutthaya forces who was given over to the Myanmar side in the

²⁹⁴ Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince, 'Our wars with the Burmese': Thai-Burmese Conflict 1539-1767, White Lotus Co.Lit, Thailand, 2001, p. 46.

hope that Ayutthaya would be friends again with the King of Hanthawadi), gain his confidence, and send a letter with him as if from Siam to the army of Si Sattanakhanahut to the following effect: the army of Hongsawadi had invested the city and had made many assaults: the Siamese army had been able to stave them off for the time being, but at present was about to collapse and would ask the army from Si Sattanakhanahut to come to the assistance of Siam by fighting against the enemy so as to put them to fight. A false seal of the Siamese king was made and impressed on the letter. Siamese soldiers in Phra Maha Thammaracha's forces were made to carry it. Then His Majesty of Hongsawadi ordered Phra Maha Uparat to take out his forces, lie in ambush in Saraburi district, and attack the Lao forces which had come down.

On receipt of the forged letter, Phrachao Chai Chettha had no suspicion whatever and he hastened the march of his army carelessly. When the advance forces arrive at Muang Saraburi where the forces under Phra Maha Uparat were in hiding, they were attacked by the forces in ambush. The forces from Si Sattanakhanahut being taken unawares were routed, suffering losses in elephants, horses, and men. Phra Maha Uparat was able to capture many men. Phrachao Chai Chettha, thinking there was no hope to succeed, withdrew his forces and returned to his capital.²⁹⁵

As stated above, the events leading up to the First fall of Ayutthaya revealed in both Myanmar and Siamese chronicles are more or less the same except in some cases. In Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon, the cause for the First fall of Ayutthaya was just mentioned as the rebellion of King Maha Chakkraphat to defy against the Myanmar rule. But it left out the stratagem used by the King of Hanthawadi by sending Minister Chakri who had been taken away to Hanthawadi along with Prince Ramesuan to act as a spy in the interior walls of Ayutthaya. However it describes all the detailed events in the aftermath of the war which cannot be found in the Siamese chronicles.

5.8. Battle of Nong Sarai

Another congruity is the duel fight on the elephant back between King Naresuan and Maha Uparat of Hanthawadi in the battle of Nong Sarai. According to

²⁹⁵ Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince. 'Our Wars with the Burmese'; Thai-Burmese Conflict 1539-1767. White Lotus Co. Ltd, Thailand. 2001. p 61.

Myanmar Chronicles, Myanmar Uparat was shot to death but Siamese sources said that King Naresuan killed Maha Uparat during the elephant-ridden fight. In defence of the Siamese Chronicles, Dr. Sunait elucidated thus:

“Truthfully, the discrepancies that abound in the afore-mentioned documents are merely reflective pictures of the confrontation between the old traditional war, i.e. the duel fight on the elephant back, and the outspread of modern weapons, i.e. fire-arms. Although fire-arms eventually eradicated the traditional elephant-ridden fight, but during the days of Phra Naresuan the elephant-ridden fight had not been totally abolished. There is a statement in the Burmese chronicle that King Nandabayin had a decisive elephant- ridden fight with the King of Ava Tadamengsaw: the latter was defeated and fled for life.”^{296 297}

5.9. The Fall of Hanthawadi

There are wide discrepancies on the fall of Hanthawadi in 1599 and the subsequent battle of Taungoo between Myanmar, Rakhine and Siamese chronicles. Myanmar Chronicles tally with Rakhine Chronicles but quite different from Prince Damrong's 'Our Wars with the Burmese' and other Siamese Chronicles. Personally, I am of the opinion that what was said in the Myanmar and Rakhine chronicles are getting nearer the truth while Thai Rop Phama and some Siamese Chronicles are not that accurate and seem a bit more dramatic. To avoid confusion, I would alternately present Myanmar and Siamese versions of what had happened in those years.

Myanmar Chronicles said that during the reign of King Nanda Bayin, he failed to suppress Ayutthaya many times and mainly because of that, several subordinate Kings including his son Thado Dhama Yaza, ruler of Pyi town, revolted against him. To deter such an event in the future, the king issued a royal proclamation ordering that Prince Natshinnaung, the eldest son of Taungoo king and a bull elephant named

²⁹⁶ Sunait Chutintaranond/Than Tun, 'On both sides of the Tenasserim range: History of Siamese Burmese Relations,' Asian studies monographs no. 050, Institute of Asian Studies, p.46.

²⁹⁷ My personal view is that there were a lot of fighting going on and at the same time, the Siamese army was outnumbered. We should also take into account the nature of elephant-ridden fight. Normally, the two rivals pre-arrange the appointed day and time for the fighting and it starts before the battle. It would be possible if the two kings met each other in the battle and King Naresuan killed Maha Uparat on the spot. But it is less likely that they officially engaged in the elephant ridden fight in the middle of the battle and in presence of the brave soldiers of both sides.

Ubawthahta, Prince Tulong²⁹⁸, the eldest son of Zimme' king Nawrahta Minsaw and a bull elephant Jumbu-kestharay and Prince Thakin Latt²⁹⁹, the eldest son of King of Nyaung Yan and a bull elephant Jumbu-tazaik be placed under the royal foot. These subordinate kings defied the royal decree by sending neither sons nor brave elephants. Being a weak king, Nanda Bayin could not take any punitive action against them.

At that time, the venerable Mon monk Bahme' Sayadaw who was expelled from Hanthawadi and resided in Nyaung Yan foretold the ruler of Nyaung Yan that he shouldn't be anxious about the royal order and would one day become a supreme lord of all umbrella bearing kings. On hearing of this, king of Taungoo regarded it as a possible crisis in future. Thus, he sent a letter to Rakhine king to help fight the Hanthawadi. King Min Yazagyi of Rakhine consented and sent the naval forces led by his son Maha Uparat to occupy Syriam. In ME 960 (1599), the armies of Taungoo king, Maha Uparat of Taungoo, Rakhine king and his son Min Kamaung besieged the town of Hanthawadi from all four directions. During the siege, Crown Prince Min Ye Kyaw Swa, son of Nanda Bayin, took refuge in the army of Taungoo king. He thought that Hanthawadi would not be able to withstand the combined forces of Taungoo and Rakhine. After this incident, king of Hanthawadi gave in and later was taken to Taungoo. In Myanmar history, he was dubbed the king who was taken to Taungoo.

On the other hand, Prince Damrong and some Siamese Chronicles said that when Hanthawadi was in decline, the Lord of the Municipality of Martaban, the Lord of the Municipality of Rakhine (Siamese-Lakhopena), the Lord of the Municipality of Khlik, the Lord of the Municipality of Bua Phyan, the Lord of the Municipality of Bassein and the Lord of the Municipality of Taungoo delivered Myanmar and Mon bearers of letters and items of tribute to king Naresuan begging to become satellites of Ayutthaya. The lords of Taungoo and Rakhine even begged to bring armies to accompany the Ayutthaya king on his military campaign to Hanthawadi.

When learned of the exchange of letters between Taungoo and Ayutthaya, one Lord Abbot and Holy Great Senior Monk called Siam Phriam gave advice to Lord of Taungoo not to submit to Ayutthaya. The monk even laid down the details of the

²⁹⁸ Prince Tulong was born on the way to Chiangmai at Tulong (Doi Luang) and named after the mountain.

²⁹⁹ later became Anaukphetlun Min (the king who died in the west) of Chaung Thit stream near Hanthawadi.

stratagem for the Lord of Taungoo to occupy Hanthawadi and incite Mons to rebel against Ayutthaya king. The monk went on to say that after the occupation, Hanthawadi should be set on fire and the Lord of Taungoo move back to Taungoo and withstands the Siamese king's attack from there. The Lord of Taungoo acted out according to this stratagem. The plan worked like a clock.

As for the lord of Rakhine, he overran the town of Syriam and waited there for the movement of the King Naresuan's army. However, when the Siamese king arrived he dispatched the envoys but failed to appear in person at the royal foot. The king of Ayutthaya distrusted him and forbade his armies to accompany the royal campaign to Taungoo.

Another difference is that in Myanmar chronicles, Lord of Taungoo did not defend the Siamese invasion from Hanthawadi mainly because of the geography of the city which lies within the Mon region. He assumed that Mon were of one mind with the Siamese in fighting against Myanmar. Thus, it was the Rakhine king who set fire on all the monasteries and buildings of Hanthawadi when he heard the coming of the Siamese forces consisted of 24 armies. Moreover, he carried off all Buddha images, bronze statues from Siam, treaties on religion and learned monks to Rakhine by boats. The king himself stayed behind the enemy's line and cut off the supply lines of the Siamese force effectively. After the war, the king received the princess Khin Nyaung, daughter of King of Hanthawadi, white and black elephants, gold, silver, various pasos, textiles and foodstuff as a spoil of war.

As regards the bronze statues, they were originally Khmer statues, found at Angkor Wat in Cambodia, and were taken to Ayutthaya in 1431 by the Siamese. In 1564, King Bayintnaung conquered Ayutthaya and took thirty such statues to Hanthawadi. In 1599, King Min Rajagyi of Rakhine invaded Hanthawadi and brought them to Mrauk U.

We have found the evidence of this in Konbounset Maha Yazawindawgyi which stated that when the Crown Prince Thado Minsaw laid waste to Rakhine and besieged the town of Mrauk U, Maha Uparat of Rakhine, Dhar Paing Gyi, brother in law of Rakhine king, and mandarins counseled the king to make peace with Myanmar king by sending princess Hymaut Htaw Gyi, daughter of the chief queen of Rakhine king to King Bodawpaya.

Rakhine king Maha Thamada Raja then pronounced that in the history of Rakhine, never before was there a precedence of giving away a king's daughter to Myanmar king. In the reign of Min Rajagyi of Rakhine, there was a precedence of sending away a Myanmar king's daughter together with over 1000 canons and bronze statues cast in Siam to the Rakhine king by the king of Taungoo. The descendents of Myanmar princess as well as canons and bronze statues could still be seen. If he gave away his daughter to Myanmar king, posterity may perpetually be talked that the just king Maha Thamada offered his sons and daughters to Myanmar king and served as a slave. His body would surely decay as life was transient³⁰⁰

However, the testimony of Ayutthaya's war captives brought back to Innwa after the war of 1767 reveals that King Bayintnaung donated valuable treasures especially the bronze statues obtained from the Royal Temple in the Grand Palace of Ayutthaya, Wat Phrasrisanphet, to the Mahamuni Buddha image housing in Rakhine.³⁰¹ The Yazawin described the religious role of King Bayintnaung as follows:

“As for the King of Hongsa, as time passed by, he had learned that there existed the Mahamuni Buddha Image housing in the country of the Great Myanmar called 'Yakai'. The Buddha Image was molded since when the Lord Buddha still existed. The image possessed tremendous miracle Buddhist power..... The King, with strong faith to the Mahamuni, therefore, arranged a number of worshipping Utencils such as ornamental cloth, three pieces of yellow robes, joss-sticks and golden candles, pop-rice and golden flowers, umbrellas and golden flags including the images of the twelve zodiacs which the King of Hongsa partially brought from the City of Ayudhaya such as the images of the human beings, the Earn Elephant (the Lord Indra's vehicle) and Indus horse, a lion, a leo-elephant, a Manusingha (half human-half lion), a singha, a garuda, the Usubharaja bull (Siva's vehicle). These bronze statues and the innumerable worshipping utencils were propitiated by the King of Hongsa, and then he held a great celebration and poured the water of donation. He thereafter summoned the ministers to take care of the worshipping

³⁰⁰ Maung Maung Tin, *Konbougset Maha Yazawindawgyi, Volume II.* p 25.

³⁰¹ Sunait Chutinthanond, 'King Bayinnuaung as Historical Hero in Thai Perspective,' *Comparative Studies on Literature and History of Thailand and Myanmar, IAS Monographs No. 052, October 1997, p. 13.*

utencils to be loaded into a junk for the purpose of contribution to Mahamuni at the City of Yakai in A.D. 1568."³⁰²

After the conquest of Rakhine, the Crown Prince Thado Minsaw took them to Amarapura in 1785. Of the thirty statues Bayintnaung brought from Siam, only six (three lions - with heads substituted later in Myanmar style, a three-headed elephant known as Airavata, and two warriors in the form of Shiva) remain today, and are displayed in the Maha Muni temple complex in Mandalay. They are a major attraction because of their purported healing qualities.

Myanmar sources coincide with Luang Prasoet chronicle (1680) that King Naresuan marched direct on Taungoo, stationed at Khwe maku creek while other Siamese chronicles mentioned that the king of Siam marched first to Hanthawadi, and then besiege the town of Taungoo. My opinion is that the assertion made by Myanmar sources and Luang Prasoet chronicle would be more feasible because for King Naresuan, it was no use marching to Hanthawadi as the city was totally destroyed by the king of Rakhine.

Luang Prasoet chronicle mentions that in 961, a year of the boar, on Thursday, the eleventh day of the waxing moon in the eleventh month, at two *nalika* and eight *bat* after daybreak, the King set out with his army in procession for the Municipality of Tongu. [The rites of] Cutting the Wood and Cursing the [Enemy's] Name [were held] in the vicinity of Lomphli and the Victory Army was encamped in the vicinity of Tan Monastery. And in that eleventh month [occurred] the passage of Holy Saturn from the sign of Virgo to the sign of Libra. On Wednesday, the tenth day of the waxing moon in the fourth month, the King reached the Municipality of Tongu and the main army advanced and encamped only thirty *sen* from the Municipality of Tongu. And it encamped there for two months. They ran out of food and lost their strength, did all the retainers and troops, and they died from starvation in great number. On Wednesday, the sixth day of the waning moon in the sixth month, the main army returned towards the Holy Metropolis of Si Ayutthaya.³⁰³

³⁰² *Kamhaikan Khunluanghawwat chabap Luang, Bangkok, 1916, pp. 3-4.*

³⁰³ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya. Translated by Richard D Cushman. Edited by David K Wyatt, The Siam Society under Royal Patronage 2000. p 168*

In Prince Damrong's Thai Rap Pharma, we have found the involvement of Rakhine King in the war is rather absurd. I would like to quote some lines from that book:

“As regards the King of Arakan, when he had abandoned the agreement with the Viceroy of Taungoo, he retreated and established himself at Maung Siriam, and made his guerrilla forces do what was necessary to Maung Hongsawadi according to the understanding he had made with the viceroy of Taungoo. It was these guerrilla forces who actually burnt Maung Hongsawadi as stated above. When Somdet Phra Naresuan reached Hongsawadi, the King of Arakan sent some nobles and high government officers to wait upon his majesty, and told him that the King of Arakan had brought his forces down to assist him in his attack on Hongsawadi according to what was agreed. When he found that the Viceroy of Toungoo had brought his forces down and attacked Hongsawadi, he thought that His Majesty had order the attack. Therefore the King of Arakan went up with his forces, thinking to assist the Viceroy of Toungoo. Subsequently he found out that the Viceroy of Toungoo thought of playing false and capturing Honsawadi for himself. The inhabitants of Honsawadi were easily deceived and allowed him to enter the city. The king of Arakan did not know what to do, and so retreated to Siriam waiting for the arrival of the Siamese army. He had a force of five thousand men ready to join the army under His Majesty according to His Majesty's wishes. But Somdet Phra Naresuan was displeased because the king of Arakan did not come himself. He received the news that the Arakanese had burnt Hongsawadi. He replied that his army was quite sufficient for the purpose and told the king of Arakan not to bring his forces.”³⁰⁴

Siamese chronicles except Luang Prasoet chronicle described thus:

“Both of Their Highnesses, the Holy-Feet-of-the-Paramount-Reverences-and Holy-Buddhist-Lords-Over-All, issued a royal proclamation to all of the thao phraya, ministers, statesmen, and chiefs, saying: "The Phraya of Lakhoeng gave his solemn pledge that he would advance himself to help with the affairs of the holy royal war. Now, since the Phraya of Lakhoeng has not advanced his army himself and then,

³⁰⁴ Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince. 'Our wars with the Burmese'; Thai-Burmese Conflict 1539-1767, White Lotus Co. Ltd. Thailand. 2001. p 164.

*indeed, has commissioned only thao phraya to lead his soldiers to join Our army at this time, that We should take the men of Lakhoeng along with Us seems inappropriate.' Thereupon a holy royal proclamation was issued ordering Phraya Phra Ram to forbid the men of Lakhoeng to accompany the Kings, to have holy royal presents and rewards prepared and sent to the thao phraya and men of Lakhoeng who had come in accordance with their standing, and then to send them back down to their fleet.*³⁰⁵

In Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon, the Siamese king's brother, Prince *Bya The Mon* (probably Somdet Phra Ekathotsairot) was captured alive by the King of Sak tribe Kaung Hla Phyu, a subordinate king of Rakhine King Min Yaza Gyi. The Siamese Prince was sent off to Rakhine king and later he was ransomed and returned home. However, Myanmar and Siamese chronicles do not mention the occurrence of such an important event in their respective chronicles.

5.10. Alaungpaya Campaign in Siam (1759-1760)

There were differences between scholars of both countries whether the invasion of King Alaungpaya was an intended one or not. One obvious difference is that in Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon, when Alaungphaya came down to Yangon, there were thirteen lightning struck at various places in Naypyitaw i.e., Yatana Theinka or Shwebo. Myanmar astrologers and Mandarins interpreted this event as a bad omen for the king who had planned to attack the royal city of Ayutthaya. Interestingly, the Royal Autograph version of the Ayutthaya chronicles probably compiled in the 1850s mentioned thus:

*“During that year of the dog, six of the decade, lighting struck within the Municipality of the Jeweled Lion on the very same day in as many as sixteen places. The astrologers prophesied (on the basis of that event) that Holy Lord Alongphrayi would be endowed with a constant condition of great power extending into other different countries.*³⁰⁶

Myanmar and Siamese Chronicles clearly stated the planned characters of King Alaungpaya's invasion to Ayutthaya with the slight different views. All

³⁰⁵ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya. Translated by Richard D Cushman. Edited by David K Wyatt, The Siam Society under Royal Patronage 2000. p 175.*

³⁰⁶ *Ibid. p 475.*

Myanmar chronicles and Ayedawbons indicated in one way or the other, the intention of King Alaungpaya to invade Ayutthaya. One royal edict revealed that before he left Yangon, King Alaungpaya clearly expressed his intention to attack Ayutthaya, Lamphun and Chiangmai and come back home via the eastern Shan states.³⁰⁷ Siamese chronicles said that after the unification of the country, King Alaungpaya turned his attention to Ayutthaya. He took the advantage of unstable circumstances in Ayutthaya due to the change of reigns. In Prince Damrong's 'Our wars with the Burmese', he gave the impression of the unplanned character of Alaungpaya's attack: after capturing Tavoy, Myeit and Tanintharyi, the king found out that the Thais were inefficient (in defending their kingdom). At that stage, the Burmese had no intention of marching up to Ayutthaya.

Another controversy arises among scholars regarding the reasons why Alaungpaya attacked Siam in 1759. Scholars gave a variety of reasons which can divide into political, economic and personal.³⁰⁸ My opinion is that the causes for this war can be one or all of the following reasons: the strong personality of King Alaungpaya and the weakness on the part of the Ayutthaya state: upheavals in Mon state; the influence of the then prevailing concept of cakravartin; and other subsidiary reasons.

There were not many controversies about the route of the march, battles and sieges, stratagems, etc. However, Myanmar army had to make a sudden withdrawal only 5 days after the arrival at Ayutthaya due to King Alaungpaya's illness. Myanmar and Siamese Chronicles except Royal Autograph Chronicle agreed that Alaungpaya died of unspecified sickness. However, Royal Autograph Chronicle said: 'the Holy Lord Alongphrayi Mang Lo'ng had come to have a great gun lit and fired at the palace. The gun had burst and hit His holy body, and He had returned to His stockade at the Hamlet of the Kum Tree and become severely ill. He thereupon had hastened to abandon the campaign and return home quickly. He had placed Maeng La Maeng Khong³⁰⁹ in charge of ten thousand troops to stay behind and watch the rear'.³¹⁰

³⁰⁷ *Khin Khin Sein (ed), Alaung Mintayagyi Ameindawmya (Edicts of Alaungpaya), Yangon, Burma Historical Commission, 1964, Edict No.33, p.117.*

³⁰⁸ *Myo Myint, Dr. 'Alaungpaya's campaign in Thailand (1759-1760)', Myanmar Historical Research Journal, No (9) June 2002, p 48.*

³⁰⁹ *Although the name Min Hla Min Gaung was mentioned in both Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon and*

In his book 'Our wars with the Burmese', Prince Damrong agreed to this fact stated in the Royal Autograph Chronicle. Another Siamese account 'Testimony of an Inhabitant of the City of Ava' even says Alaungpaya died of venereal disease.³¹¹

Nevertheless, the difference between Myanmar sources and the Royal Autograph Chronicle is about Myanmar commander of the rearguards General Min Gaung Nawrahta. Notably, other Siamese chronicles including Prince Damrong's 'Our wars with the Burmese' are silent on this matter. The Myanmar sources said that when Alaungpaya left Ayutthaya in May 1760, the Commander of the rearguard Min Gaung Nawrahta repulsed the Siamese attack and followed the main army in stages. After the death of the king on the half way to Naypyitaw, there arose some misunderstanding between Myedu min, second son of Alaungpaya and Min Gaung Nawrahta, most trusty general of Alaungpaya. As a result, the general refused to obey the order to join his army with the main army. He led his army to Taungoo and there he escaped the snare which had been laid for him. Seeing no safety for himself but in resistance, he marched to Innwa and occupied the town.

The new king Naungdawgyi repeatedly sent Min Gaung Nawrahta's old comrade General Min Hla Nawrahta urging him to surrender and offering a pardon. But Min Gaung Nawrahta said that it is impossible to surrender with his dear ones that they may suffer the cruel mercies of the king. He will die like a soldier and will make these walls his coffin. King Naungdawgyi marched on Innwa and tightly besieged the town. Min Gaung Nawrahta repulsed the several attacks but when it became evident that surrender was inevitable, he broke out with his followers and fled. He killed many of his pursuers but in the end, he was shot dead by the royal musketeers. According to G.E. Harvey, when King Naungdawgyi laid siege to Innwa, he gave audience to Captain Walter Alves, the British East India Company's envoy in Sagaing in September 1760. Alves saw some of the poor wretches who had been

the Royal Chronicles of Bangkok, it should be Min Gaung Nawrahta

³¹⁰ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya. Translated by Richard D Cushman. Edited by David K Wyatt, The Siam Society under Royal Patronage 2000. p 483.*

³¹¹ *Phra Phraison Salarak (trans.). 'Testimony of an Inhabitant of the City of Ava'. Journal of the Siam Society. Vol. 45. Part 2. October 1967. p.32.*

terribly scalded by the boiling liquids poured down on them when they tried to scale the wall.³¹²

To the contrary, what was stated in the Royal Autograph Chronicles is thus:

"Meanwhile, Mang Ra (Myedu min) the Royal Son accordingly invited His Holy Corpse to proceed to the borders on the Lammao River. He thereupon halted the army for three days and performed the offering of the Holy flame in that place.³¹³ After it was accomplished, He accordingly collected the holy bone fragments and invited Them to proceed to the municipality of the Jeweled Lion. Now Maeng La Maeng Khong, who formed those brigades watching the rear, learning that the Holy Lord Alongphrayi had already entered heaven, became presumptuous and made plans to revolt. He hurried to march His army along with haste and, after reaching the Municipality of Ava, accordingly had the people and food, supplies swept up and brought inside the municipality. He made preparations to defend the municipality, firmly ensconced Himself and failed to go for an audience with Mang Lok (King Naungdawgyi) and Mang Ra at that Municipality of the Jeweled Lion.

Meanwhile, Mang Lok, who had stayed behind to protect the municipality, learned of the rumors being noised abroad to the effect that His Holy Royal Father had entered heaven and that the Raman groups were again in revolt. He thereupon had Mons seized and slain in great numbers. Mon groups fled away, scattering and separating in every vicinity. Just then Mang Ra, His Royal Younger Brother arrived at the municipality and thereupon told Him, 'The Mon is not to be accused of being in revolt at all! At this moment Maeng La Maeng Khong, who was directed to form those brigades to watch the rear, is planning to revolt. He hurriedly led His troops to wrest control of the Municipality of Ava first, has entered it and firmly ensconced Himself and is asserting the independence of the Municipality.'

Mang Lok, having been informed, was frightened in His holy heart because this person, Maeng La Maeng Khong, possessed exceptionally tough skills and it would be difficult to find anyone to go to fight against Him and capture His person. He thereupon had an astrologer consider the problem and find a person who would be

³¹² G.E. Harvey, 'History of Burma,' Frank Cass & Co.Ltd. 1967, p 247.

³¹³ King Alaungpaya's body was borne back to Shwebo or Yatana Theingka, where it was buried in the presence of his chief queen, sons and daughters and a great crowd of mourners.

able to conquer Maeng La Maeng Khong and gain victory. The astrologer spoke to Him and made a prediction, saying, 'As for a person of the Burmese race who might be sent to fight that Maeng La Maeng Khong – it appears in truth no-one would gain a victory. Only if a person of the Raman race with such and such a figure and features were found to go and fight, would he gain a victory over Maeng La Maeng Khong.'

Mang Lok and Mang Ra thereupon had officials tour around to find a Raman whose figure fitted with the description the astrologer had made the prediction about. They found one Raman named Yangmi who had secretly fled away and hidden in a Burmese house and whose figure fitted the characteristics similar to the description the astrologer had made the prediction about. The group of Burmese crown servants, after conversing soothingly with him to make him recover from his fear, escorted his person in to be presented. Mang Lok and Mang Ra thereupon spoke to calm and humor Yangmi by saying, 'We certainly won't slay Your Worship! Your Worship need not be afraid of Us at all. Just agree to join up with Us, go to fight Maeng La Maeng Khong, and capture His person for sure.'

Yangmi was filled with delight and thereupon prostrated himself and said, 'Since You have manifested Your holy compassion by being pleased to spare the life of the Servant of the Holy Buddhist Lord as a holy royal gift, I would beg to volunteer to go to fight and capture the person of Maeng La Maeng Khong and bring Him to be presented to You without fail. However, I would beg to delay action for just seven days to compound invulnerability medicine and would ask for the holy royal gift of just three hundred Raman soldiers who are tough. Then I will proceed to attack the Municipality of Ava.'

Now Mang Lok and Mang Ra were accordingly pleased to let Yangmi compound the drug and to conscript three hundred Raman soldiers for him. Then they had official conscript the brigades of an army of three thousand troops and lead them to engage the municipality of Ava first, and they established three stockades at a distance of fifty *sen* from the municipality.

Meanwhile, Maeng La Maeng Khong, being informed that the brigades of an army of the Municipality of the Jeweled Lion had advanced, led troops of four thousand soldiers forth from His municipality. After advancing to attack all three of

those stockades and routing them in defeat right at the same time, He led His troops back into the municipality.

Meanwhile, the brigades of that army which had been routed retreated and came halfway back. After its officers had all assembled together, they thereupon halted to establish three stockades and then reported by document for someone to prostrate himself and tell the King so He would be informed. Mang Lok accordingly conscripted another two thousand people to be added to and join with the first army, making five thousand soldiers altogether, and had them advance to attack the Municipality of Ava again for the second time, but they were routed in defeat. Then He conscripted another two thousand troops to go to augment and join with the other troops, making seven thousand totals, and sent them to fight again, but they were utterly routed all three times. Now Maeng La Maeng Khong had slain Burmese and Raman troops and felled them dead in great numbers.

At that time Yangmi had compounded his drug for a full seven days and was accordingly finished. He thereupon made his preparations for setting out and had part of that drug placed in sections of bamboo and part in bottle gourds. When he was about to go forth to fight he intended to have each person eat a piece weighing one *salong*, to have each horse eat a piece weighing two *salong*, and to have each elephant eat a piece weighing one *bat*. Being in a magical state of invulnerability, they would not be penetrated when hit by a weapon, spear, sword or gun firing, slashing or stabbing.

When a propitious and auspicious moment prevailed, Yangmi accordingly prostrated himself to render homage and take his leave and led his troops of three hundred Raman soldiers, completely outfitted with weapons of every type, away. Mang Ra thereupon had officials conscript one more army of one thousand Burmese, twenty elephants and forty horses, together with weaponry for every type of fighting, and advance to reinforce him. When he reached the Municipality of Ava, Yangmi thereupon had the brigades of the armies which had advanced on the previous occasions and that army which had followed him establishes stockades to the rear. And that brigade of Yanmi advanced forward to establish a stockade just five *sen* from the municipality.

Meanwhile, Maeng La Maeng Khong, learning that the brigades of the armies were advancing again, mounted an elephant, led His troops of soldiers in great numbers forth from the municipality, and drove His troops forward to attack the stockade of Yangmi. Yangmi, after accordingly dispensing the medicine to every one of his troops of soldiers to eat, led them forth from the stockade and advanced to attack the army of Maeng La Maeng Khong out in the open. Now the person of Yangmi, armed with a sword in each hand, ran out in front of his men and chased and slashed the groups of troops of Maeng La Maeng Khong, felling those dead in scattered profusion. Maeng La Maeng Khong, seeing such as that, pressed His elephant forward to gore Yangmi. Yangmi, however, slashed and severed the trunk of that elephant. The elephant accordingly ran off, trumpeting and bucking, and Maeng La Maeng Khong fell off from its neck. Yangmi would have advanced and slashed Maeng La Maeng Khong, but His bands of soldiers joined in, helped to protect Him, and were able to flee with Him into the municipality. The army of Yangmi chased right after them but, not obtaining the person of Maeng La Maeng Khong, came back to their stockade.

Thereafter Maeng La Maeng Khong, was exceedingly afraid of Yangmi. He did not advance forth to fight outside the municipality again and merely had His troops of soldiers ascend to defend their positions on the fortifications and protect the municipality in capable fashion. Yangmi accordingly sent his troops of soldiers in to establish a stockade close beside the walls of the municipality. He then had them dig a tunnel under the foundations of the walls into the municipality. All those brigades of the Burmese armies, however, were afraid of Maeng La Maeng Khong. They only established siege stockades at a considerable distance, not being brave enough to be able to advance and establish them close beside the municipality, and merely laid siege to the municipality for seven months. Now the brigade of Yangmi, having managed to dig a tunnel all the way through into the municipality, ascended through it to chase, slash and slay the inhabitants of the municipality felling them dead in great numbers, and then entered inside the Holy Royal Palace Enclosure.

Now Maeng La Maeng Khong fought back and, seeing He was outmanned abandoned the municipality, took his troops of soldiers and fled forth from the municipality. Yangmi advanced after Him in time and they battled together in capable

fashion. Maeng La Maeng Khong was shot by a gun in the knee, His knee was broken and He fell down. Yangmi was able to capture His person, placed Him in a cage and had it carried in to his stockade. Then he reported by document for someone to prostrate himself and tell Mang Lok and Mang Ra. Mang Lok and Mang Ra were exceedingly pleased in Their holy hearts. However, fearing the skills of Maeng La Maeng Khong, They thereupon commanded that both of His arms be pounded and broken before His person was sent to be presented to them.

Now the brigades of all those armies accordingly escorted the person of Maeng La Maeng Khong, together with the cage, on in to the Municipality of the Jeweled Lion. Mang Lok and Mang Ra accordingly had officials take the person of Maeng La Maeng Khong away, slit His chest open and execute Him. Then they bestowed bounties upon Yangmi by appointing him to be Mang Maha Nanthamit, a noble and important person in the Military Division, and by making him such holy royal gifts of silver, gold and paraphernalia of rank, together with attendants, retainers, dwelling sites and houses, as were appropriate to the favor he enjoyed."

('Min Hla Min Gaung' is probably a combination of the first two names of two Myanmar generals Min Hla Nawrahta and Min Gaung Nawrahta, both were the commanders of rear guards when King Alaungpaya retreated from Ayutthaya in 1760 C.E.)

5.11. Guerrilla resistance by the villagers of Bang Racha

Another controversial issue is the wonderful event, as prince Damrong puts it, of guerrilla resistance by the villagers of Bang Racha in 1767 CE. All Myanmar historical writings are silent on this incident. But in Thailand, a lot of heroes emerged out of this episode: Nai Thaen, the leader, Nai Chan who had a bristling moustache, Phan Ruang, the headman of the village, Khun San who was reputed to be a good shot, Nai Thong Men who rode on a water buffalo in assailing the Myanmar fortification, etc. Though some early Bangkok chronicles mention a few lines about it, in 'Our wars with the Burmese' and Royal Autograph Chronicle, it undergoes a major expansion. According to Chris Baker, the narrative has the feel of a ballad or epic

poem, complete with tales of heroism, gory scenes of battle, humorous interludes, and a final tragic ending.³¹⁴

5.12. The death of General Maha Nawrahta

Still another interesting discrepancy between Myanmar and Siamese sources is the death of Myanmar general Maha Nawrahta during the siege of Ayutthaya in 1767. Myanmar chronicles said that after five days of negotiation exchanging missives between king of Siam and Myanmar generals, General Maha Nawrahta died of a serious illness. General Naymyo Thihapati took charge of the two armies (Zinme' column and Tavoy column) and sent Zaya Nara to inform of the death of general to the king of Innwa. When he heard the news, the king ordered the performance of the funeral rites for Maha Nawrahta in the fashion of cremating the most senior Ministers. The king also said that he himself would march to occupy the kingdom of China. The Myanmar army (in Siam) should take the Yodaya first, destroy the moat and the city and brought back the Siamese king and the whole of the kingdom.³¹⁵

Many Siamese chronicles and 'Our wars with the Burmese' just describe the death of the Myanmar general in their respective chronicles but the Royal Autograph Chronicle mentions thus:

"During that time, Mang Mahanaratha, the general of the main army who was staying at the stockade at Sikuk, became severely ill and met his fate. All the Burmese army masters and brigade masters of each and every stockade came together to perform the act of cremating his corpse. After it was finished they had a holy funeral monument constructed inside that stockade and installed the bone fragments within it. Then they thereupon assembled to consult together about who would be appointed to be the *bochuk* general of the main army in his place and would get to admonish, control and command all the army masters and brigade masters with absolute authority in the waging of the war henceforth. Now the army masters and brigade masters differed from each other in their opinions and did not agree together at all.

³¹⁴ Chris Baker, "Editing this translation." *Our Wars with the Burmese; Thai-Burmese Conflict 1539-1767*. White Lotus Co. Ltd. Thailand. 2001. p xxvii.

³¹⁵ Kala, U. Maha Yazawingyi. U Khin Soe (ed). Yangon: Burma Research Society and Hanthawaddy Press, 1960 and 1961. p 299.

Some groups accordingly said they would have Nemiao, the grand chief marshal, become the *bochuk* general of the main army. Some groups, however, said they would have Tingca Maeing Khong, the deputy of the stockade at Sikuk. Other groups, however, said they would have Pakanwun, the master of the stockade at the Hamlet of the Banyan. They were not in agreement at all.

Later on they consulted and were unanimous, saying, "It is true Nemiao, that grand chief marshal, possesses intelligence and powerful skills. Nevertheless, he is not of a lineage of the martial Burmese race. On his father's side he is Burmese, but on his mother's he is Lao. For him to become more important than all those of us who are of Burmese family would be improper. Now as for Tingca Maeng Khong, the deputy of that stock at Sikuk – he is not of pure Burmese race (either). On his father's side he is Burmese, but on his mother's he is a Raman. It is improper for him to become more important than all of us who are of Burmese race and family. It appears only Pakanwun, the master of that stockade at the Hamlet of the Banyan, is of a lineage of pure Burmese race both on his father's and mother's side. It is appropriate he become important (enough) to be able to control and command all of us." They thereupon unanimously appointed Pakanwun to be the *bochuk* general of the main army to control them all with absolute authority in the waging of the war.

Nemiao, the grand chief marshal, in turn thereupon spoke to all the army masters and brigade masters and said, "The Supreme Holy Lord of the Capital of the Jeweled Borough of Ava was pleased to make Us a general of armies to advance by the northern routes and to have (Us) attack and take the Holy Metropolis of Glorious Ayutthaya without fail. Regardless of the fact the Mang Mahanaratha, the *bochuk* general of the main army, is no longer among the living, Our person is still alive and will surely wage war and take the Realm of the Thai Municipalities to present to the Holy Lord of Ava in order to accomplish His holy royal purpose without fail. (If there is) any person among all Your Worships (who is) dismayed about the waging of the way and (is) not united in spirit with Us in the royal service of fighting, We will execute that person." All the army masters and brigade masters, and Pakanwun who had been newly appointed to be the *bochuk*, were accordingly together completely awed by and afraid of the power of Nemiao. Now, however many groups of troops Nemiao might conscript, each army and each stockade was accordingly forced to send

them. And if he was to conscript and have any army master or brigade master advance to wage a battle anywhere, (that person) was accordingly forced to go and do as he commanded. No-one dared to oppose him."³¹⁶

The above-mentioned are some prominent accounts described in both Myanmar and Siamese sources. There are many other events remained to be studied. What we have found by doing this study is that the knowledge and understanding of Myanmar history relating to Siam-Myanmar warfare which has been handed down from generation to generation is quite different from those of Siam.

It is natural that after the second fall of Ayutthaya, the image of Myanmar changed from a powerful rival to an evil enemy of Thais in the Siamese Chronicles. In the face of the danger of colonial powers in the 1900s, the government attempted to revive nationalism in Siam. As a consequence of this, Siamese Chroniclers wrote a national history with the king at the center instead of traditional Phonsawadan writings. We have seen many inventions of stories, deliberate impolations, and fanciful details in the Siamese Chronicles written during Thonburi and the early reigns of Bangkok period.

There are many books on this subject. I need not elaborate this as Sunait Chutintaranond in his book *On Both Sides of the Tenasserim Range* explained in detail the concept of nation-religion-monarch (chat-satsana-phramahakasat) and Siam-Myanmar warfare. In Myanmar literature also, although they have substratum of truth, there are many panegyric writings, insertion of Indian epics and Jatakas, scribal errors with the successive recopying, gross numerical exaggerations and so on.

With the advent of students' boycott of the Rangoon University act of 1920, nationalist awakening in Myanmar under the British rule began. This was associated with the University strike and the national school movement, dyarchical reform and later the issue of separation or federation (with India). Like in Siam, this nationalist movement brought forth the new historical writings the purpose of which is to rouse the patriotic sentiment of Myanmar people. I will be discussing this development in the last chapter.

³¹⁶ *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya. Translated by Richard D Cushman. Edited by David K Wyatt, The Siam Society under Royal Patronage 2000. p. 510-511.*

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

Southeast Asian Chronicles were written or amended with bias and distortions under the influence of kings and the prevailing situation at the time. Myanmar and Siam are no exception. Therefore, I would like to highlight some weaknesses in Myanmar historical writings during the period of Nationalist awakening in Myanmar. This Wunthanu (Nationalist) movement coincides with the threat of colonial powers, Britain and France, to the integrity and sovereignty of Siam and the ensuing nationalist fervor of the Thai people. These events shape, to some extent, the trend of the historical writings in both Myanmar and Siam.

After the relocation of Lion Throne (Thiha Thana Palin) to Calcutta museum by the British, Myanmar literature suffered a serious setback. Myanmar was supplanted by English as an official language. The study of Myanmar literature found a proper place in the curriculum of Rangoon University only in the 1930s thanks to the efforts of late Professor U Pe Maung Tin.

Most of the histories written during the early colonial period are the modified versions of the old chronicles. Their purpose was to defend the Myanmar chronicles against the slanderous attack of some English writers.

In 1905, U Tin compiled his famous Konbougset Maha Yazawindawgyi covering the period 1854-85 and published it as part of the Glass Palace Chronicle in 1922. He was a scholar of high repute and among his other works were the five volumes of the Myanmar Min Okchokpon Sadan (the system of government under Burmese Kings) (1921) and Shwe Nan Thon Wohara Abidan (Dictionary of words and phrases used at the court).

In its June 1919 issue, Thuriya Magazine calls for scholars and historians to write Myanmar historical writings better suited to the times than the traditional chronicles.³¹⁷ In response to this, modified version of Myanmar chronicles appeared. U Lun better known as Thakin Kodaw Hmaing wrote his major work in history 'Hmannan Yazawin Thit (New Glass Palace Chronicle) in 1922. It is a modified

³¹⁷ Tun Aung Chain, 'Examining the Royal Orders of Bayinnaung (2): The Early campaigns,' *Myanmar Studies Journal*, no 2, June, 2014, p 85.

version of Glass Palace Chronicle with the exclusion of the first two parts relating to Indian history.

Myanmar scholars U Bi, Saya Thein and Saya Ba Kyaw published *Susodhita Yazawingyi* (purified or corrected Chronicle) in 1922. In fact, it was a reaction against S.W. Cock's 'A short history of Burma' which was translated into Myanmar and used as a text book for vernacular middle schools.³¹⁸ These scholars are also responsible for the editing of the *Ayedawbon 5 Saung Twe* (collection of Five Ayedawbon Treatises) published in the same year.

In 1926, U Thein (Hmawbi Saya Thein) wrote *Pazat Yazawin* – oral rendition of history handed down from generation to generation. It deals with the reign of King Bodawpaya in Konboun era. It is unique in the sense that what was not told in the court-centered documents can be found in them.

Historical fiction also had its start in two works by Ledi U Maung Gyi, *Natshinnaung*, published in 1919 and *Tabinshwehti Wuthtu* in 1924. U Maung Gyi's aim was 'to rouse the Myanmar youth of colonial times, to remind them of their great leaders of the past, to awaken national consciousness and pride and to give the Myanmar people a militant courage.'³¹⁹ Bayintnaung made his appearance in the *Tabinshwehti Wuthtu* as a merry daredevil and the first of Tabinshwehti's followers to submit to the test of having a nail hammered into the thumb before Tabinshwehti's ear-boring ceremony at the Shwemawdaw Pagoda in Bago.³²⁰

In the 1930s, there was a demand for school texts in history. U Po Kyar, inspector of National schools, wrote *Myanma Gonyee* – the achievement of the Burmese. U Ba Than and U Ohn Maung wrote short Myanmar histories for High Schools. U Thein Maung, the editor of the *Sun Magazine* published the biographies of Myanmar Heros namely Minyekyawswa, Maha Bandoola, Tabinshwehti, Bayintnaung and Alaungpaya. His intention was to instigate the patriotic sentiment of Myanmar people and it was well received.

In 1933, the *Royal Orders of Bayintnaung* was published in the *Sun* (Thuriya) magazine. It was later included in the part two of Than Tun's *Royal Orders of Burma*.

³¹⁸ Yi Yi, Dr., *Burmese sources for the history of the Konboun period 1752-1885*, p. 257.

³¹⁹ U Than Htut, *Some Myanmar Historical Fiction and their Historical Context*, in *Selected Writings of U Than Htut (Taik Soe)*, Yangon: Myanmar Historical Commission, 2005, p. 74.

³²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 76.

Famous Myanmar scholar Tun Aung Chain, after careful scrutiny of the royal orders of Bayintnaung, reveals that there are really no authentic Royal orders of Bayintnaung and the so-called Royal Orders of Bayintnaung totaling 16 in part 2 of Than Tun's Royal Edicts of Burma are Orders which have been made up, altered or erroneously dated to create a corpus of Royal Orders for Bayintnaung as part of the effort of making him a Myanmar hero.³²¹

As regards the historical writings of Siam, it falls into three categories: Tamnan, Phongsawadan, and Prawatsat. Tamnan is concerned with Buddhist history. Writers of tamnan history were mostly monks and this writing was at its peak from the 15th to 17th century.

Phongsawadan history focuses on the activities of kings, covering the whole Ayutthaya period and the early Bangkok era. It probably began in King Narai's reign. In writing this history, monks were replaced by courtiers and learned men.

Prawatsat history is modern writing on Thai history starting from the 19th century under the influence of western colonialism, education, and the emergence of an educated class in Thai society. Prince Damrong set a new style for Thai historiography, developing from the traditional descriptive chronicle to modern analytical history.³²²

We have found no phongsawadan writing of Sukotai period. According to Michael Vickery, the history of Sukotai is the twentieth century reconstructions based on inscriptions.³²³

The only extant Phongsawadan of Ayutthaya period is Luang Prasoeet Chronicle written during the reign of King Narai and rediscovered in 1907. It is thought to have written by a court astrologer around 1680. This chronicle can be classified as pre-Bangkok chronicle since it was not recompiled during the Bangkok period. Though its entries are short and cryptic, the chronicle, in most cases, agrees

³²¹ Tun Aung Chain, 'Examining the Royal Orders of Bayinnaung (3): The Novices from Sri Lanka,' *Myanmar Studies Journal* No 2, June, 2014, Myanmar knowledge Society publishing, p. 94.

³²² Charnvit Kasetsiri, 'Thai Historiography from Ancient Times to the Modern Period,' in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, ed. A.S. Reid and D. Marr (Singapore: Heinemann, 1979), p. 162.

³²³ This discussion on the Ayutthaya Chronicle is taken mostly from Michael Vickery, 'Composition and Transmission of Ayutthaya and Cambodian Chronicles,' in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, ed. A.S. Reid and D. Marr (Singapore: Heinemann, 1979), p. 130.

with Myanmar chronicles and the European accounts so it has a reputation for chronological accuracy.³²⁴

For example, according to U Kala, Bayintnaung departed for Ayudhya during his first invasion 9 November 1563; while Luang Prasoet claims that Bayintnaung 'raised an army' to attack Siam during the month of 16 October to 14 November 1563. U Kala has Bayintnaung depart Hanthawadi on his second campaign 18 October 1568; Luang Prasoet (Chatthip) says c. 20 October 1568. At the climax of this second campaign, according to U Kala, Ayutthaya fell 1 August 1569; Prof. Wyatt's conversion of Luang Prasoet says 24 July 1569; and Prof. Chatthip and Prof. Prasoet say 7 August 1569.³²⁵

Of all the Chronicles compiled during the Bangkok period, the Chronicle of Phan Chanthanumat composed at the order of Rama I was the oldest extant text. It went through several revisions including the versions known as 'British Museum,' 'Bradley,' 'Paramanujit,' 'Two-volume,' 'Phonnarat/Wanarat,' and 'the Royal Autograph Chronicle.' These chronicles can be classified as Chronicles of Bangkok period. Although Royal Autograph acquired the status of an official history, the rediscovery of Luang Prasoet and the study of seventeenth century European writings have resulted in the rejection of its chronology.³²⁶

The main differences between the two traditions are the extra textual material of the latter and the chronological differences. Later, Ayudhyan history as presented in modern standard works has generally been the content of Royal Autograph with Luang Prasoet dates.³²⁷

Extra textual material or the expansions mentioned in the Bangkok chronicles clearly show the thinking of Bangkok kings in the early twentieth century. The destruction of Ayutthaya in 1767 was the most traumatic event in Thai history. As a consequence of this war, the sentiments and mindsets of Siamese people are antagonistic towards Myanmar. Myanmar has been portrayed as a traditional foe of Siam by the Thai royalists and nationalist leaders in the early part of the 20th century.

³²⁴ Michael Vickery, 'Ayudhya and Cambodian Chronicles', p. 133.

³²⁵ Victor Lieberman, 'How Reliable is U Kala's Burmese Chronicle?', Vol. XVII, No. 2, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, September 1986, p. 248.

³²⁶ Michael Vickery, "Ayudhaya and Cambodian Chronicles", *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, Asian Studies Association of Australia 1979. p 133.

³²⁷ *Ibid.* p 135.

Meanwhile, Siam had to confront with the menace of colonial powers which threaten the very existence of Siam as a sovereign nation. Out of these circumstances, Thai nationalism came to the fore. The historical writings of this nation building period are literary manifestation of new nationalism.

With regard to the Ayedawbons, there are extant 7 works under the name of Ayedawbon. Of these Ayedawbons, Myanmar historians accept five as real Ayedawbons and two are rejected from the Ayedawbon list. These Ayedawbons are quite different from one another in terms of structures, contents, historical setting, etc. Furthermore, though Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon and Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon gave emphasis on individual king, Rajadirit and Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbons focus on two kings and the Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon on the whole region of Rakhine. Thus, each Ayedawbon should be observed thoroughly and the historical setting in which the chroniclers write these Ayedawbons be examined.

If combined, Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon and Majjhimadesa Ayedawbon covers the history of Rakhine kings up to the King Bodawpaya's reign. Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon is largely of what the wise men counseled to the king on particular problems. Nearly half of the Ayedawbon appears under the title Maha Pyinya Kyaw Hlyaukhton.³²⁸ The counseling and ruling of Maha Pinya Kyaw is worth studying because it reflects the prevailing administrative and legal system of Rakhine at that particular point of time. Moreover, Rakhine's external relations with Bengal region, Myanmar proper, Mon kingdom of Hanthawadi, Portuguese free booters and Dutch East India Company provided lots of historical facts and figures. Though some historians say that this Ayedawbon is a mere précis of Old Rakhine Yazawin, it is of much use to scholars of Rakhine history.

Majjhimadesa Ayedawbon concerns two uprisings in Rakhine of 1794 and 1798 respectively, strained Anglo-Myanmar relations and the first Myanmar mission sent to India for copying and collecting Sanskrit treatises. Two uprisings reflect the imposition of rigid administration in Rakhine by King Bodawpaya and the resentment of Rakhine people against Myanmar rule. As a result of these rebellions, there arose border dispute and the deterioration of Anglo-Myanmar relations which finally led to the first Anglo-Burmese war of 1824. During his reign, King Bodawpaya sent many

³²⁸ *Rangoon, Hanthawadi. 1964 Reprint. See also Than Tun: Historiography of Burma, p. 11*

missions to India to search for treatises written in Sanskrit. This Ayedawbon mentions the first mission of its kind. Moreover, there might be some motives under cover of these missions to carry out the intelligence work on the British expansion to India. As this Ayedawbon provides all these significant facts, its importance in Myanmar and Rakhine histories is momentous.

Hsin Phyu Shin Ayedawbon or Min Khandaw Sardan also concerns events in the reign of King Bodawpaya. King Bodawpaya was the longest reigning monarch in Myanmar and many interesting things took place during his 37 years rule. Although it covers the first five years of King Bodawpaya reign, many important events such as crushing of rebellions, establishing of the new capital Amarapura, the holding of two Beiktheik coronation ceremonies of 1783 and 1784, collecting of data for Sittan (Inquiry or census) and conveying of sacred Maha Muni image from Rakhine to Amarapura were described in detail. In addition, details of the court costumes, head-dresses, and royal appurtenances were provided. As the author Letwe Nawrahta was a respector of the past, his power of description is immense.

Rajadirit Ayedawbon first describes how Magadu and Rajadirit struggled hard to gain the possession of the throne. Then, when Laukphyu, eater of Myaung Mya, who became envious of Rajadirit's success, besought King Swasaw Khe' of Innwa to assist him a military aid to overthrow Rajadirit, the internal conflict in Ramaya desa transformed into a fierce rivalry between Hanthawadi and Innwa. Furthermore, the war spilled over the Rakhine region as Innwa and Hanthawadi vied for the supremacy of Rakhine throne. Many interesting heroic deeds of Myanmar and Mon soldiers emerged out of these 40 years war between the two kingdoms. It became classic not only in Myanmar but also in Siamese literature. In Siam, this translated work is called 'Ratchathirat or King of Kings.'

Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon mostly consists of military campaigns waged by King Bayintnaung. In addition, various achievements of king Bayintnaung are mentioned in the Ayedawbon. The style of writing in Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon is also found unique. In the Ayedawbon, the king is depicted as a king who listened to the counsel of ministers before he undertook any military campaign; for each campaign the name of the official who advocated it is recorded, saying that the king concurred with the advice of so and so minister and

therefore achieved success.³²⁹ As a result of the king's campaigns, Myanmar culture was enriched by the input of Siamese culture. Thai influence on Myanmar music, drama, and art is considerable while Myanmar cultural influence on northern Thailand especially Chiangmai is still apparent.

It is highly likely that Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon is written to arouse patriotism at the time when Myanmar was fighting the Mons in a war of survival. Apart from the detailed records of war, it described the plight of the people of Innwa during the reign of King Maha Dhama Yazadipati. Some details were not mentioned even in Hmannan Yazawindawgyi. Among the three different texts under the name of Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon, Letwe Nawrahta's two versions are more detailed and comprehensive than that of U Tun Nyo. The work is also noted for its fine prose writing style. In fact, it is much better than Rajadirit Ayedawbon. The style of writing and use of language in Rajadirit Ayedawbon is not as splendid as Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon. It so happens because Rajadirit Ayedawbon was a translated work from Mon treatise into Myanmar and the author Banya Dala seems not so efficient in handling Myanmar language as Letwe Nawrahta did.

Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbon is an historical account of the life of King Nyaung Yan and his military campaigns. He established the dynasty after Hanthawadi was destroyed by Taungoo and Rakhine forces. He was a son of King Bayintnaung and Khin Pyi Sone, a country girl from Nyaung Yan (near Tharsi in Mandalay Division).³³⁰ Western scholars named the dynasty he founded as the restored Taungoo dynasty. Even if this work is the extracts from U Kala's Maha Yazawingyi and Min Ye Dibba Eigyin, it is still of value to scholars because there are only few works on the Nyaung Yan Dynasty (CE 1597-1752).

Except for Dhanyawadi Ayedawbon which is likened to a Chronicle and the other two which are not included in the Ayedawbon list, the four real Ayedawbons gave emphasis on individual kings. All these kings had to overcome difficulties at the start of their career.

In Rajadirit Ayedawbon, Prince Banya Nwe' (Rajadirit) was not favoured much by his father King Banya U. The King grew furious when he eloped with his

³²⁹ Thaw Kaung, 'Ayedawbon kyan,' *Aspects of Myanmar history and culture*, p. 115.

³³⁰ *Myanmar Sweson Kyan, Vol. IV, (Encyclopedia Myanmanica, IV) (Great Britain, 1960), p. 379-80.*

half sister Princess Talamaydaw. When the King was seriously ill, the king's sister Maha Devi, the governor of Dagon, held sway in Bago. Maha Devi had an affair with Thamein Maru, a high ranking military officer in the Mon army. Hearing that Maha Devi, his own aunt, and Thamein Maru, his brother in law, were plotting to kill him, Prince Banya Nwe' and his followers took refuge in Dagon. On the death of his father in 1383 and after a bitter struggle, he overpowered his enemies and ascended the throne of Hanthawadi under the title of Rajadirit. During his reign, he had to suppress all Mon rebellions and wage war with the Myanmar King of Innwa which lasted for 40 years.

In Hanthawadi Hsin Phyu Mya Shin Ayedawbon, when King Tabinshwehti had been assassinated by Thamein Htaw, Bayintnaung was in Dala suppressing Mon rebels. After the sudden death of King Tabinshwehti, the country was in chaos. The Mons was in control of the capital Hanthawadi; the Lords of Pyi, Taungoo and Innwa had also proclaimed themselves kings, independent of the central authority. At that time, Bayintnaung with his few forces could not immediately confront the Mon rebels in Hanthawadi. So he went back to the Myanmar region and subdued Taungoo first. It was followed by the conquests of Bagan, Hanthawadi and Innwa. After holding sway over Myanmar proper, Bayintnaung launched his military campaigns to the Shan principalities in Upper Myanmar. His foreign wars include Chiangmai, Ayutthaya, Vien Chang, Sipsong pana, Kathe' (Cassay) and the country of the black-faced people.

In Alaung Mintayagyi Ayedawbon also, Mons became rulers of Myanmar for a short period. Many Chieftains made submission to the new power and drank the water of allegiance. However, U Aung Zeya (Alaungpaya) from Muksobo village did not yield to Mons. He built a stockade made with palm logs encircling forty six villages and defied the authority of the Mons. He was the founder of Konbounng dynasty. He is also considered one of the greatest kings of Myanmar, alongside Anawrahta and Bayintnaung, for unifying the country for the third time in Myanmar history.

In Nyaung Yan Mintaya Ayedawbon, when Hanthawadi fell to the combined forces of Taungoo and Rakhine in 1599, the country was in turmoil. There were lots of rulers of small kingdoms who proclaimed themselves independent kings. Nyaung Yan Min, son of King Bayintnaung, consolidated his power to reunify the country.

After occupying Innwa, he launched military campaigns to Shan States. Unfortunately, the king died before the conclusion of his labor. King Anaukphetlun completed the task unfinished by his father. He defeated the Portuguese at Cyrim (Thanlynn); recovered the upper Tenasserim coast to Tavoy and Lan Na from the Siamese; and the trans-Salween Shan states.

Myanmar literati duly recorded these struggles or achievements of Myanmar and Mon kings and they eventually brought forth a new genre of Myanmar literature 'Ayedawbon treatise'.

Many a Myanmar literary work reflect the prevailing situation of particular times in history. Over the course of time, some genres have faded but Ayedawbon treatises have achieved some sort of durability over the last 800 years or so. Posterity can benefit from studying these literary works for historical purpose.

In the olden days of Myanmar kings, scholars and poets composed chronicles, treatises and songs under the royal patronage. Dramatic literature also flourished at the court. Different types of genres such as Eigyin, sung as cradele songs to instill pride of family and race in the royal children, Mawgun which composed to commemorate some momentous events, and Pyo, verse renderings of Buddhist stories and teaching, etc., were composed in the history of Myanmar literature. Scholars who have an aptitude for Myanmar literature can tap these poems for historical purpose. They also give lots of detailed information which were not included in the Chronicles.

Despite the enormous amount of data available in Myanmar literature, international scholars on Myanmar historiography have few access to them due to a lack of work written in English. There are, of course, Myanmar chronicles but these are all they have to rely on. By doing research work on this important genre of Ayedawbon makes these materials available to international scholars.

Ayedawbon kyans are contemporary records and almost all authors were courtiers, nobles and military officers who had access to historical documents. Their knowledge of the behavior and attitude of kings, inner working of the court, military campaigns, ceremonial and religious affairs surely contributed to the writings of Ayedawbon kyans.

There were attempts to study and translate Yazawin (Chronicles) into English by many scholars. For example, Victor Leberman made a detailed study on Taungoo

period by using U Kala's Maha Yazawingyi and wrote an article 'How reliable is U Kala's Burmese Chronicle?' Prof. G.H. Luce translated an early part of Hmannan Yazawin- dawgyi with Myanmar scholar U Pe Maung Tin. The same chronicle was translated by Thai Prince Naradhip under the name 'Pra Ratcha Phongsawadan Bhamā (The Chronicles of the Myanmar kingdom) in 1913. To the contrary, no such works on Ayedawbon treatises have been done until recently.

I have surveyed seven Ayedawbon treatises, one of the important genres of Myanmar historical writings which have been handed down from generation to generation. We have found that Ayedawbon kyans contribute to both Myanmar and Thai studies. They have distinctive characteristics and historical values in their own right. In addition, they stipulate about Myanmar-Siam warfare in detail.

In constructing Thai history, Prince Damrong, much respected historian, took various sources into consideration and set up a hypothesis. He veered away from Phongsawadan tradition. He is said to be the person who bridged the old Thai world view with the new one.³³¹ He consulted Hmannan Yazawindawgyi (Glass Palace Chronicle) before compiling his influential book 'Thai Rop Phama' or 'Our wars with the Burmese'. Phra Phraison Salaruk (U Aung Thein) also translated some parts involving Myanmar-Siam warfare in this Chronicle. His work was published in the *Journal of Siam Society* (1908-1919).³³² Unfortunately, Ayedawbon treatises were not used in these pioneer works.

Previously, Ayedawbon is little known to outside scholars. In studying Myanmar-Thai relations, most scholars pay much attention to Chronicles and they overlooked Ayedawbons. Some don't even notice that Ayedawbon treatises are a mine of information for scholars of Myanmar and Thai studies. This thesis first introduces Ayedawbon treatises to Thai scholars as well as international academic circle. It elaborates on seven Ayedawbon treatises and provides a translation of excerpts involving Myanmar-Siam warfare. They could be read and studied by a wider circle of scholars interested in Myanmar and Thai history.

³³¹ Charnvit Kasetsiri, 'Thai Historiography', in *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*. Asian Studies Association of Australia. p. 165.

³³² Sunait Chutintaranod and Than Tun, 'On Both Sides of the Tenasserim Range: History of Siamese-Burmese Relations', *Asian Studies Monographs No. 050*, p. 34.

Besides Ayedawbon treatises, there are a variety of genres in Myanmar literature such as Eigyin, Mawgun, Pyo, etc. They are little studied and there was no one who tried to use these materials for wide-ranging research on Myanmar-Siam relations. Research work on these existing materials would yield to valuable results.

6.1 Recommendations for further study

This thesis mainly concerns Siam-Myanmar relations and warfare from 16th to 19th century described in the Ayedawbon treatises written by various Myanmar literati. However, in order to round off the study of the influence of these events on people to people relations in the later centuries, further analysis on Siam-Myanmar relation is recommended.

As the Ayedawbon reflects the shared history of Siam and Myanmar, a closer examination is needed of other genres of Myanmar literature which contained related histories and their influence on the people of both countries. There are a variety of genres in Myanmar literature such as Eigyin, Mawgun, Pyo, etc. They are little studied and there was no one who tried to use these materials for wide-ranging research on Siam-Myanmar relations. Research work on these existing materials would yield to valuable results.

Though there are numerous works on Siam-Myanmar relations from King Tabinshwehti's time to the 2nd fall of Ayutthaya, relations concerning both pre Tabinshwehti reign and post Ayutthaya period have received relatively little attention from scholars. Further research is recommended to give intensive study on these two periods.

Finally, owing to the constraints of time and space, the author of this thesis has not been able to elaborate more about Thai Literature. As certain literature reflects the prevailing political, economic and social situation in a particular period in history, it is recommended to explore these areas to be more efficient in dealing with the histories of both countries and the relations between the two countries.

REFERENCES

English

Aung-Thwin, Michael and Maitrii Aung-Thwin. *History of Myanmar since Ancient Times: Traditions and Transformations*. London Reaktion Books, 2012.

Ba Han. "The Evolution of Burmese Dramatic Performances and Festival Occasions." *Journal of Burma Research Society* 49, (1966).

Brown, D. Mackenzie. *The White Umbrella: India Political Thought from Manu to Gandhi*: Berkeley, 1953.

C.T., Aung. "The Struggle of Rajadharit." *The Guardian Daily*, November 19, 1977
1977.

Chalong Soontravanich. *Comparative Studies on Literature and History of Thailand and Myanmar*. Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 1997.

Charnvit Kasetsiri. "Thai Historiography from Ancient Times to the Modern Period." In *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, edited by Anthony Reid and David Marr: Asian Studies Association of Australia 1979.

Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince. *The Chronicle of Our Wars with the Burmese : Hostilities between Siamese and Burmese When Ayutthaya Was the Capital of Siam* Translated by Phra Phraison Salarak, Thein Subindu and alias U Aung Thein. Bangkok White Lotus Co. Ltd. , 2001.

Damrong Rajanubhab, Prince. "The Story of How the Ramayana Came to Burma " *The Working People's Daily (Sunday Supplement)* 1965.

G.E., Harvey. *History of Burma*. London Frank Cass, 1967.

Hla Pe, U. *Burma: Literature, Historiography, Scholarship, Language, Life, and Buddhism* Singapore Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1985.

- Hla Thein. "Anglo-Myanmar Relations During the Reign of Thibaw, Part 3." *Myanmar Historical Research Journal*, no. 12 (2003).
- Holiday, R. "A History of Kings." *Journal of Burma Research Society* 13, no. 1 (1932).
- Judson, Adoniram, *Dictionary of the Burmaese Language*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1826.
- Khin Myo Chit. *Colourful Myanmar*. Insein, 1995.
- Lieberman, Victor. "How Reliable Is U Kala's Burmese Chronicle?" *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 17, no. 2 (1986): 236-255.
- Luce, Gordon Hamington. "Burma's Debt to Pagan." *Journal of Burma Research Society* 22, (1932).
- Luce, Gordon Hamington. "Old Kyaukse and the Coming of the Burmans." *Journal of Burma Research Society*, (1932).
- Maung Htin Aung. *Burmese Drama: A Study, with Translations of Burmese Plays*. 4th Edition ed. London Oxford University Press, 1957.
- Maung Htin Aung. *A History of Burma*. New York Columbia University Press, 1967.
- Maung Htin Aung. *Folk Elements in Burmese Buddhism* Rangoon: The Religious Affairs Department Press, 1975.
- Myo Myint. "Problems in Myanmar Historiography." In *Comparative Studies on Literature and History of Thailand and Myanmar*, 103-110. Yangon, 1997.
- Myo Myint. "Alaungpaya's Campaign in Thailand (1759-1760)." *Myanmar Historical Research Journal*., no. 9 (2002).
- Nai Pan Hla. "Mon Literature & Culture over Thailand and Burma." Harvard University, 1958.
- Naret Naroprakorn and Suk Raman. *The Mon Wars*. Bangkok Odeon Store, 1964

- Pe Maung Tin, U. "Burmese Poetry Prize Competition." In *Journal of Burma Research Society*, 7, 1917.
- Pe Maung Tin, U. "Anantathuriya's Death Song." *Journal of Burma Research Society* 9, (1919).
- Pe Maung Tin, U. "Women in the Inscription of Bagan." *Journal of Burma Research Society* 25, (1935).
- Pe Maung Tin, U. "The Story of How the Ramyana Came to Burma." *The Working People's Daily (Sunday Supplement)*, March 14, 1965 1965.
- Pe Maung Tin, U. *Myanmar Sarpay Thamaing (History of Burmese Literature)*. Vol. 9. Yangon: Khitayar Publishing House, 1987.
- Phayre, Sir Arthur P. *History of Burma, Including Burma Proper, Pegu, Taungu, Tenasserim, and Arakan, from the Earliest Time to the End of the First War with British India*. Vol. 7. 11 vols. Bangkok Orchid Press 1998.
- Phraison Salarak, Phra. "Testimony of an Inhabitant of the City of Ava." *Journal of the Siam Society* 45, (1967).
- Reynolds, Craig J. "Religious Historical Writing and the Legitimation of the First Bangkok Region." In *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, edited by Anthony Reid and David Marr: Asia Asian Studies Association of Australia, 1979.
- Rong Syamananda. *A History of Thailand*. 8th Edition ed. Bangkok: Thai Watana Panich, 1993.
- Saw Lu. "Yun Ayutthaya in Myanmar Literature (1548-1614)." *Myanmar Historical Research Journal*, no. 8 (200): 89-110.
- Saw Tun, U. "Chiangmai and Ayuddhaya in Myanmar Literature (1548-1614): The Myanmar Attitude Towards Ancient Thai Cities." In *Views and Visions Conference*. Yangon 2001.

- Schober, Juliane. *Modern Buddhist Conjunctures in Myanmar*. University of Hawaii Press. Honolulu. 2011. . Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press 2011.
- Singer, Noel F. "The Ramayana at the Burmese Court." *Art of Asia* 19, no. 6 (1989): 90-103.
- Stewart, J.A. "Burmese Stage." *The Chinthe* 1, no. 1 (1951).
- Sunait Chutintaranond. "Cakravartin, the Ideology of Traditional Warfare in Siam and Burma, 1548-1605 " Cornell University, 1990.
- Sunait Chutintaranond and Than Tun. *On Both Sides of the Tenasserim Range: History of Siamese Burmese Relations*. Bangkok Institute of Asian Studies, 1995
- Taung Goe, U., *Dictionary of South and Southeast Asian Art*. Yangon:Pyi Sone Publishing House, 2006.
- Taylor, Jim. "The Changing Tide of Warfare Early Burmese and Siamese Accounts Confronted." In *From Fact to Fiction: History of Thai-Myanmar Relations in Cultural Context: Historical Conference*, edited by Sunait Chutintaranond and Kanokphan U-Sha, 54, 78. Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2001.
- Taylor, Robert H. and Mark Hobart. "Burmese Concepts of Revolution." In *Context Meaning and Power in Southeast Asia*, edited by Robert H. Taylor and Mark Hobart, 156. New York Cornell University, 1986.
- Tet Htoot, U. "The Nature of the Burmese Chronicles." In *Historical Writing on the Peoples of Asia Historians of South-East Asia*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Than Htut. "Two Songs." *Myanmar Historical Research Journal*, no. 8 (2001).
- Than Htut. "Some Myanmar Historical Fiction and Their Historical Context." In *Selected Writings of U Than Htut (Taik Soe)*. Yangon: Myanmar Historical Commission, 2005.
- Than Tun. "History of Burma: Ad 1300-1400." *Journal of Burma Research Society* 42, (1959).

- Than Tun. *Historiography of Burma*. Vol. 9. Kagoshima Kagoshima University, 1966.
- Than Tun. *The Royal Orders of Burma Vii Kyoto*: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University, 1988.
- Thaw Kaung, U. *Aspects of Myanmar History and Culture*. Yangon Loka Ahlinn Publishing House, 2010.
- Thaw Kaung, U. *Myanmar Wonderland*. Yangon: Today publishing House, 2013.
- The Siam Society. *The Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya*. Bangkok Amarin Printing and Publishing Public Company Limited 2000.
- Tin Ohn. "Modern Historical Writing in Burmese 1724-1942." In *Historical Writing on the Peoples of Asia Historians of South-East Asia*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Tin, U. *The Royal Administration of Burma* Vol. 4. Bangkok Ava Publishing House 2001.
- Tun Aung Chain, U. "Chronicling the Late Nyaungyan." *Myanmar Historical Research Journal* 14, (2004).
- Tun Aung Chain, U. *Chronicle of Ayutthaya. A Translation of the Yodaya Yazawin*. Vol. 14. Yangon: Golden Jubilee Publication Committee, 2005.
- Tun Aung Chain, U. "Examining the Royal Orders of Bayinnaung (2): The Early Campaigns". *Myanmar Studies Journal* 2, (2014).
- Tun Aung Chain, U. "Examining the Royal Orders of Bayinnaung (3): The Novices from Sri Lanka." *Myanmar Studies Journal* 2, (2014).
- Vickery, Michael. "Composition and Transmission of Ayutthaya and Cambodian Chronicles." In *Perceptions of the Past in Southeast Asia*, edited by Anthony Reid and David Marr: Asian Studies Association of Australia 1979.

Yi Yi, "Burmese Source for the History of the Konbaung Period 1752-1885", Oxford University Press.

Burmese

Hmannan Yazawin-Daw-Gyi (the Glass Palace Chronicle). Vol. 2. Rangon Mandalay Book Depot, 1955

Myanmar Sweson Kyan (Encyclopedia Myanmarica IV). Great Britain, 1960

Alaung Mintayagyi Ameindawmya (Edicts of Alaungpaya). Yangon Burma Historical Commission, 1964.

Struggle of Myanmar Kings. Yangon Nan Myint Sarpay, 1970.

"Panasa Jataka or Zimme' Pannasa." In *The Myanmar Recension*, edited by Padmanadh S. Jaini, 1: Pali Text Society 1981.

Maha Gita Baung Choke: Ministry of Culture, 1997.

Ba Thaug, Bohmu (Maung Thuta). *Sarsodaw-Mya Athotkepatti (Biography of Myanmar Literati)*. 5th Edition ed. Yangon Lawka Sarpay, 2002.

Kala, U. *Maha Yazawingyi*. Vol. 2 or 3 Yangon Burma Research Society and Hanthawaddy Press, 1961

Kyan, Daw. *Maung Laut, Maung Ywa, Maung Waing Do a-Kyaung*: Padauk Thit, 2006.

Ma-htae-myat., Ashin Auber-tha-bi-wun-tha, *Demonstrative Research Abidan*. Ministry of Religious Affairs, The Government of the Union of Burma, 2002.

Maung Maung Gyi, U. . *Myanmar Min Mya Ayedawbon (the Six Volumes of Ayedawbon)* Aleinmar Sarpay, 1964.

Maung Maung Tin, U. *Konboug-Set Maha Yazawin-Daw-Gyi*. Vol. 1. 5th Edition ed. Yangon Yar-pyi Sar-oke Taik for Universities Historical Research Centre, 2004.

Maung Maung Tin, U., (KSM) *Shwe Nan Thon Worhara Abidan (Dictionary of Words and Phrases Used in the Court)*. Yangon: Department of Religious Affairs, 1975.

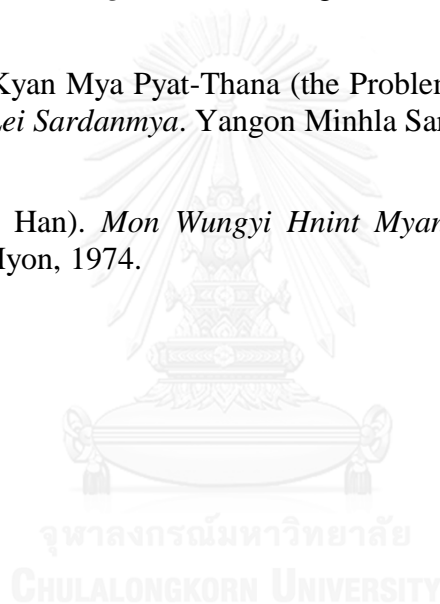
Pe Maung Tin, U. *Myanmar Sarpay Thamaing (History of Burmese Literature)*. Yangon U Mya Thaug, 1987

Tin, U., (Bagan Wundauk). *Myanmar Min Oke-Chok-Pon Sardan (the Administration of Myanmar Kings)*. Vol. 3. Yangon Government Central Press, 1970

Toe, U. *Ad 1751-96, Yama Yagan*. Vol. 1. Rangoon, 1933.

Yi Yi. "Ayedawbon Kyan Mya Pyat-Thana (the Problems of Ayedawbon Kyans)." In *Kantha Sein-Lei Sardanmya*. Yangon Minhla Sarpay, 1969.

Zaw Gyi , (U Thein Han). *Mon Wungyi Hnint Myanmar Zagapye*. Yangon: Zwe sarpay Yeik Myon, 1974.



APPENDIX



จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย
CHULALONGKORN UNIVERSITY

VITA

Ms. Soe Thuzar Myint was born in Yangon, Myanmar on July 26, 1977. She earned her Bachelor's Degree in Science in Botany in 2002 and Master's Degree in Environmental Studies in 2006 from Yangon University. She also received her Master's degree in Thai Studies from Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University in 2010.

She was granted "Chulalongkorn University Scholarship for Neighboring Countries" to pursue her Doctoral Degree in Thai Studies at the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University in 2012.

