

# THE TESTIMONY OF AN INHABITANT OF THE CITY OF AVA

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## Preface

It has been the custom from ancient times, when the government of one country lays its hands on a foreigner who knows the affairs of his country, and, when it is to the advantage of the government to know such affairs, to question the foreigner and put down his answers in the form of depositions.

During the wars between the Siamese and the Burmese, the practice of taking depositions assumed great importance, because it was the means of getting information about the physical features of the enemy's country, its strength, its history, customs and usages. When the Siamese captured a Burmese prisoner of war, he was questioned about Burma and his statements were noted down. There are many such statements in manuscripts in the Vajirañāna National Library, but it has been impracticable to publish most of them.

The name of the Burmese general who made the deposition that follows here is generally known in Siamese history as Arprakarmani, or Dharprakharmani. He is sometimes called Myowun or Bo Myonguam. Myowun is a Burmese honorific title for a governor of a town or city, and Bo Myonguam is the title given to a governor of a town who is also a military general. The Burmese word Bo is similar to the old Siamese usage of Chow Khun or Chow Khun Me-tab (Chow Khun, the general).

The account of Arprakarmani as given in Siamese history is that he was a nobleman who lived in the city of Ava. In the year of the horse, the 4th of the decade, Ohula Sakkaraj 1124, Buddhist Era 2305, during the reign of His Majesty Somdet Phra Chow Suriyamarinton at Ayudhya, the Burmese King Mang (Maung) Lawk (Naungdawgyi), who was a son of Minlaung ascended the

throne. He ordered Taing-gya-min-gaung, Min Maha Nawarata, and Arprakarmani to lead a force of Burmans and invade Chiengmai, which, at that time, was probably an independent city. When they captured Chiengmai, the King of Ava appointed Arprakarmani as Myowun to conduct the administrative affairs of the city. From that time onward, whenever the Burmese invaded Siam, Arprakarmani was chosen as the general to lead the Chiengmai contingent in the invasion. After Dhonburi was chosen as the capital of Siam, King Somdet Phra Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke, who was at that time still holding the title of Chow Phya Chakri, commanded an expedition to invade Chiengmai, in the year of the horse, the sixth decade, Chula Sakkaraj 1136, Buddhist Era 2317. The Burmese appointed Phya Chaban and Phya Kawila, leaders of the people of Chiengmai, to command a force to resist the army of the King of Dhonburi. They, however, went over to His Majesty Somdet Phra Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke, joined the Siamese forces, and marched on Chiengmai. The Siamese attacked and captured the city. Arprakarmani and the Burmese forces withdrew, and established themselves at Maung Chiengsen. They continued to molest the towns and villages in the north, up unto the time of the first king of the city of Ratanakosin (Bangkok). In the year of the goat, 9th decade, Chula Sakkaraj 1149, Buddhist Era 2330, His Majesty King of Ava Badon (King Bodawpaya) sent reinforcements to Arprakarmani to enable him to attack Maung Fang in Monton Payab. But the people of Monton Payab were on the side of the Siamese, and when the forces under Arprakarmani tried to collect the men there, they all fled into the surrounding countryside. When the reinforcements sent from Ava arrived and established themselves in Maung Fang, the people of Maung Chiengsen, led by Phya Pre (Mang Chai), Phya Yong and Phya Chiengrai, found a favourable moment to attack the Burmese forces. They captured Arprakarmani and sent him to His Majesty King Somdet Phra Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke at Ayudhya, where the Burmese general's deposition was taken.

How extensive the deposition was is not known. The Royal Library received only the part in which Arprakarmani spoke about

Burmese history. Nor it is known who composed the deposition. The Siamese language used in it is very good and was praised by His Majesty King Somdet Phra Chom Klao (King Mongkut, or Rama IV) in his own handwriting. His Majesty also wrote the following note, which was appended to a copy of the deposition:

"This book (in manuscript form) is an old copy; it is not known who composed it, but it must have been written during the reign of King Somdet Phra Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke, using correctly the words . . . (here follows a list of Siamese words which are different from the modern usage and which will not be of interest to those who do not know Siamese. *Trans*). The script department should make a copy of it as an example before returning it to the Royal Library. This copy is not the original one but a copy made during the reign of King Somdet Phra Nang Klao."

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Vajirañāna National Library

May 1st, Buddhist Era 2458

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I, the Myowun, respectfully beg permission to make this statement, as far as I can remember, for submission to His Majesty, of history during the time the sons of the solar race ruled the city of Ratanapura Ava. In the year Sakkaraj 1099, the country of Hongkawadi was under the rule of Ava. The king of Ratanapura Ava appointed Sa Aung (*Burmese*, Maung Tha Aung) to be the governor of the city, Hongkawadi, and Nai Seng Mu, who belonged to the elephant department, to be assistant governor in charge of provisions. The people of Hongkawadi were fond of Nai Seng Mu, and he thought of revolt, captured Nai Sa Aung, and murdered him.

Nai Seng Mu then became the governor of the city of Hongkawadi. He made a younger brother of his Uparajā in command of the boat forces and sent him up to attack the city of Ava. Another younger brother of his, whom he had appointed the governor of Dala, was placed in command of the land forces to go up to Ava and attack it at the same time. They laid siege to Ava for three years and captured it in Sakkaraj 1114. The Uparajā then seized the king of Ava and the royal family, and proceeded with them to Hongkawadi, leaving behind the governor of Dala and Talaban in Ava to administer the affairs of the country. These two became aware that (Maung) Aung Zeya, the Minlaung, was collecting a force of four or five thousand men from fourteen villages.

Maung Aung Zeya brought up toddy palm trunks and constructed a fort at Mōksobo. The governor of Dala and Talaban sent a force of 1,500 men under the command of a petty officer to make a reconnaissance. They found the Minlaung resting at the village of Boksod, only 800 wahs (a Siamese measure of length; one wah is approximately 2 metres. *Trans.*) from Mōksobo. There was a fight; the Mons were worsted and retired to Ava. Then the governor of Dala sent Katoke Wun Tawtawkala Bo with a force of 20,000 men, consisting of about 5,000 Mons and 15,000 Burmans, with Talaban as commander-in-chief, to surround Mōksobo for fifteen days. The Mon forces were short of provisions and they

suffered greatly, killing buffaloes and bullocks and eating their flesh as their only food. The Minlaung went out and attacked the Mon forces, who were worsted in the fight and fled to the city of Ava. The forces under the Minlaung pursued the Mons from morning till midday, and obtained many arms and much ammunition.

The governor of Dala ordered Talaban and Amat Katoke Wun Tawlaw Kala Bo to remain in Ava with a force of 5,000 Mons and 5,000 Burmans in order to guard the city, while he himself went back to Hongsawadi, taking with him his family as well as many guns, both large and small. The distance by river from Ava to Hongsawadi was a ten days' journey.

The Minlaung sent Minhla Mingaung with a force of 1,500 men in one direction, and Thaynat Wun with a force of 1,500 men in another, to levy men in fourteen towns in the district of Ava. The men in these towns came in, contributing about 1,000, 2,000, 3,000, 4,000, and 5,000 men according to the size of the town. The two commanders gathered together in all about 20,000 men from the towns in the district. From the twenty villages round about Ava not far from Môksobo at a distance of one to three days' journey, they collected about 10,000 men, the villages contributing from 100 to 1,000 men according to their size. They collected thus about 30,000 men in both the towns and the villages over a period of 15 days. When all the men arrived at Môksobo, they were ordered to proceed at once to the siege of the city of Ava. The Minlaung sent Thenabadi, Min Hla Minguang and Senneng Bo with a force of 10,000 men in advance. Min Maha Thaynabadi Thaynat Wun was commander-in-chief of the main force of 20,000 men. Maung Ra, a son of Minlaung, was supreme commander of all the forces proceeding to the siege of the city of Ava.

The fighting around the city of Ava lasted for five days. Talaban's forces were defeated, but he was able to leave the city and he established himself in the town of Pray (*Burmese*, Prome), below Ava at a distance of seven nights by river. Maung Ra was ordered by his father, the Minlaung, to remain in command at Ava.

In the year of Sakkaraj 1115, in the fifth month (April), the governor of Hongkawadi ordered his younger brother, the Uparajā, in command, with Talaban and Katuk Wun Tawtaw Kalabo, to take an advance force and to go up by land and river to lay siege to the city of Ava. Maung Ra hurriedly sent a letter by a messenger to his father, the Minluang, saying that many Mon forces had arrived before Ava. Aung Zeya, the Minlaung, thereupon sent forces to assist him and attack the Mons. The east flank of the advance force of 2,000 men was under the command of Min Hla Ngā. The Prince of Toungoo, a younger brother of Minlaung, was in command of a force of 1,000 men on the east flank. The journey from Mōksobo to Ava took two nights and three days by boat. On the river there were 150 boats, of all sizes, complete with guns, large and small, and other weapons of war, with gunpowder. The Minlaung ordered Mayola Wutmatrar Bo in a command with a force of 2,500 men in 80 boats as an advance river force. Agga Maha Thaynatodi Thaynut Wun was placed in command of a force of 1500 men in 70 boats which was ordered to go down by river from Mōksobo. At that time, the land and river forces on the west and east of the city comprised 10,000 men and 150 boats. Upon arriving at the village of Chockyong, which was 800 wabs distant from Mōksobo, they met a force of Mons 10,000 strong and about 100 boats commanded by Mons of the rank of Smings. There was a fight with the Burmese forces on both the land and the water, which caused a delay of fifteen days. The forces in boats under the overall command of Amat Talaban could not stand against the Burmese attack and fled to the siege of Ava. The Burmese forces pursued and attacked the Mon forces. In the year Sakkaraj 1116, on the 15th of the waxing moon of the 6th month (May), the Uparajā, the Sming Mons and several commanders who had surrounded the city of Ava gave up the siege, retreated, and established themselves at the town of Pray.

In the year Sakkaraj 1116, on the 10th of the waning moon of the 6th month (May), in the afternoon, there was a great rain and electrical storm. Lightning struck sixteen times at different places in the city of Mōksobo, namely, (1) the post to which the planks

written in gold letters giving the name of the city was fixed; (2) at a post by the side of Benchaphat hall; (3) at a post at the door of the palace; (4) at a Khè tree in the palace enclosure; (5) at the portico of the palace; (6) at the central hall in the palace; (7) at a post in a house or a place of residence of priests; (8) at a pagoda; (9) at an elephant shed by the side of the gate of the hall built of sandal wood; (10) at a post in the door of the city; (11) at a pond in the palace enclosure; (12) at a house in the city; (15) at a Makhampom tree in the city; (16) at a plank written in gold letters right in front of the door of the palace.

On the first of the waxing moon of the twelfth month (November), Minlaung assembled his ministers, soothsayers, brahmans and learned men and asked those who had seen the lightning strike in the city of Mòksobo sixteen times in one day, from the afternoon to evening, what it portended. The soothsayers, brahmans and learned men prophesied that the Minlaung would be replete with power and that he would overcome his enemies at the city of Ava where they would certainly be defeated. The Minlaung said that if such were the case, in the year Sakkaraj 1116 on the 3rd waxing moon of the 7th month (June), he would march with a force of 30,000 men, who were in Mòksobo and Ava, both by land and by river. He ordered his son, Maung Ra, to command the advance forces, and he himself commanded the main army. In that year, on the 12th of the waning moon of the 7th month (June), he proceeded to Hongsawadi, ordering his son, Maung Ra, to go ahead with an advance force.

From that time, for a period of one year, the Burmese forces were fighting the Mon forces under the Uparajā, the younger brother of the governor of Hongsawadi at the town of Pray. The Mons under the Uparajā and the Smings were defeated and retreated to the town of Rangoon (*Siamese*, Yangkung). The forces under Minlaung remained at the town of Pray, while those under Maung Ra, which formed the advance force, pursued the Mon forces up to Rangoon during the waning moon of the 12th month (November). In the year Sakkaraj 1117, on the 5th of the

waning moon of the 6th month (May), the Uparajā and the Sming Mon forces suffered a defeat at the hands of the Burmese forces; they retreated from Rangoon and established themselves at the town of Syriam (*Siamese*, Siang). Minlaung brought down his forces to the town of Rangoon and stayed there for a year. He then ordered his son, Maung Ra, who was in command of advance forces, to take command of the main forces, and appointed him to the chief command of the combined forces with Thaynabodi Thaynat Wun, Minhla Min Gaung, and other commanders. Maung Ra attacked the town of Syriam in the waning moon of the 7th month (June) and captured the town in the 11th month (October). Minlaung and the army assembled in the town and left it together. Minlaung built a new town at a place called Zetuwadi, distant from the city of Hongsawadi 50 sens (a Siamese measure of length; a sen is equal to 20 wahs or 40 metres. *Trans.*).

The governor of Hongsawadi sent the senior Amats bearing presents to interview Minlaung and discuss peace terms. He promised to give to Minlaung one of his daughters. Minlaung then issued orders to the commanders of his army to defer the attack on the town of Pegu (*Siamese*, Pago). In the year Sakkaraj 1118, the 5th of the waxing moon of the 4th month (March), the governor of Hongsawadi presented his daughter of 17 years of age to Minlaung. The Uparajā and the governor of Dala, who were Minlaung's younger brothers, and Talaban, who was his nephew, were not pleased. "Why should a daughter be given to Minlaung?" they asked. "If the governor of Hongsawadi wants to be a slave of Minlaung, let him. But we together with all the Thaynabodi and the populace will fight to the death to save the city." The governor of Hongsawadi then said, "If the Uparajā, the governor of Dala, and Talaban will not yield the city to be a dependency of Minlaung, let it be with the loss of a daughter." The governor of Hongsawadi then let it be known that he would fight against Minlaung's army. Minlaung said to his commanders, "The governor of Hongsawadi breaks his faith and will fight against us." He immediately ordered his commanders to surround the city. The

people of the city favoured Minlaung. They ignited inflammable material in the city and threw ropes over the walls to the Burmese forces who were thereby able to capture it. The governor of Hongsawadi, the Uparajū, Phaya Dala, and all the ministers were seized that night. In Sakkaraj 1119, in the 8th month (July), Minlaung returned to Mōksobo, taking with him the governor of Hongsawadi, his family and relatives and his other belongings, such as his decorations. In Mōksobo, Minlaung permitted the governor of Hongsawadi, his family and relations and his ministers to live in comfort.

In the year of Sakkaraj 1121, on the 10th of the waning moon of the 3rd month (February), Minlaung ordered his son, Maung Ra, to levy a force of 20,000 men with a minister (*Siamese*, Amat) by the name of Minhla Yaza, and Minhla Mingaung and proceed to Ayuthia (*Siamese*, Krung Dwarawadi Sri Ayudhya) as an advance force. Minlaung himself was in command of the main army consisting of 30,000 men; in all there were 50,000 men, including the advance forces and his own. They reached Prome on the 15th of the waxing moon of the 4th month (March). It was then the rainy season and Minlaung rested there. He ordered his son, Maung Ra, to remain with his forces and ordered Minhla Yaza and Minhla Mingaung, with a force of 20,000 men, to go down and stay at Rangoon.

When the rainy season had ended, Minlaung and his son left Prome in the 11th month (October) and reached Rangoon in the 12th month (November). He ordered Minhla Yaza and Minhla Mingaung to take command of the advance force of 20,000 men and attack Tavoy. He arranged to have 4 cargo boats (*Siamese*, kampan) and 50 water war boats, with a force of 10,000 men, complete with provisions, and ordered Arkarbomhu to take the command of the land and forces and attack Tavoy. Minlaung stayed in Tavoy after it was captured and ordered Minhla Yaza and Minhla Mingaung to attack Mergui (*Siamese*, Marit) and Tannasarim (*Siamese*, Tanow). He ordered Arkarbomhu with a force of 10,000 men which he had in cargo boats to attack Mergui and

Tannasarim. Minlaung had his forces march immediately by land and he followed in their wake. Before his land forces reached the two towns, they were joined by Minhla Yaza and Minhla Mingaung with their forces in boats. Minlaung reached Mergui and Tannasserim and he rested his army at Tannasserim. Then he placed Minhla Yaza and Minhla Mingaung in command of units of the advance force of 20,000 men with his son, Maung Ra, in overall command. They were to march against Ayuthia, and Minlaung, with his own forces, followed them. When he arrived in Ayuthia, Minlaung became ill with consumption due to venereal disease. His condition became worse and he ordered Minhla Mingaung to form a rear guard with a force of 10,000 men. He retreated by way of Raheng. From Raheng to the boundary between Siam and Burma was a distance of 900 *sens*. On the way he expired, and his son, Maung Ra, carried his father's body in a palanquin to Mòksobo, which he reached in the waxing moon of the 6th month (May). His body was cremated with white and red sandal wood (*Siamese*, Chand Deng, Chand Khao; *Burmese*, Sandaku Ni, Sandaku Phyu. *Trans.*). The fire was put out by spraying it with rose water, and his burnt bones were put in a new earthen pot which was gilded and dropped in the middle of a river.

In the year Sakkaraj 1122 in the 4th month (March), the eldest son of Minlaung, whose name was Maung Lawk (Naung-dawgyi), ascended the throne. In the 6th month of the same year, Minhla Mingaung, who was in command of rear guard covering the retreat with a force of 10,000 men, arrived at Ava. He collected men and their families in the Ava district and kept them concealed in the city of Ava. He refused to submit to Maung Lawk, who had ascended the throne of his father at Mòksobo. Maung Lawk soon became aware that Minhla Mingaung thought of rebellion. He therefore ordered Chita Raja, the Sengueng Bo, and Min-ngò Bala, the Sabkung Bo, with 20,000 men as an advance force to go down and surround Ava. Then Maung Lawk came down with a force of 30,000 men and established himself at the town of Sagaing (*Siamese*, Chakeng) on the opposite bank of the river. They

fought one another for seven months, and at last the city of Ava was captured. Minhla Mingaung fled from Ava but Maung Lawk's forces pursued him and shot him dead. Maung Lawk then returned to Mòksobo.

In the year Sakkaraj 1123, in the 4th month (March), wonderful things happened; there was an earthquake, and from all four directions came a shattering sound like the loud report of a cannon. There was an eclipse of the sun and a comet appeared.

The younger brother of Minlaung whose name was Thado Uzana, and who had been appointed governor of the town of Toungoo, decided to revolt against Maung Lawk, his nephew, who had ascended the throne at Mòksobo. Maung Lawk had already ordered Bala Minding Sanlaki, who was an Amat, to the command of 5,000 men, with instructions to levy men on the way from the town of Pray to Toungoo. When Maung Lawk became aware that Thado Uzana, the governor of Toungoo, intend to revolt against him, he ordered Min-ngè Bala in command of 3,000 men to march ahead as an advance force, with Yolat Wun in command of 7,000 men as a supporting force, against Toungoo. In the year Sakkaraj 1124, in the 12th month (November), he mobilized a force of 10,000 men, and placed Argarkyawdin in charge to march ahead of him. He himself commanded the main army of 20,000 men against Toungoo. In the 12th month on the 10th of its waning moon he arrived at Toungoo. On the 2nd of the waxing moon of the 2nd month (January), Toungoo fell, and Thado Uzana, together with his wife, children, and nobles were captured, Maung Lawk took them to Mòksobo. He did not harm them and they have been maintained at Mòksobo up to the present time.

Talaban and Phya Taw Phya (I suspect he was none other than Binnya Taw. *Trans.*), who escaped with their families on the fall of Hongsawadi, were staying at Kawbien in the district of Martaban. Maung Lawk ordered Lamaing Wun, with a force of 3,000 men to go to Talaban and Phya Taw Phya and to speak to them amicably. The Lamaing Wun, on reaching them, spoke to them most amicably and asked them to surrender to Maung Lawk.

Talaban replied to Lamaing Wun, "If I surrender to the King of Ava, I am a fool. If the king of Ava seizes me and does not kill me but maintains me in comfort, then the King of Ava is a fool. But they seized my mother after the fall of Hongsawadi. Even should I die, let me see the face of my mother for a moment." Talaban and Phya Taw Phya and their families were seized and sent up to Môksobo where they were maintained in comfort by Maung Lawk.

Chiengmai with its 57 dependencies was formerly a province of the kingdom of Ava. But it had ceased to observe the ancient custom and would not send presents to Mâung Lawk. In Sakkaraj 1125 year, the 8th of the waxing moon of 12th month (November), Maung Lawk ordered Tainza Mingaung to take command of 3,000 men as an advance force, and me, Arparkarmani, to command 7,000 men as a supporting force, and to march against Chiengmai. In the first month (December) we reached Chiengmai. There was fighting for four months before Chiengmai fell to the Burmese arms. Chow Chan, the governor of Chiengmai, was captured together with his family. But before the Burmese forces could return to Môksobo, Maung Lawk expired in the 4th month (March). The obsequies were performed according to custom.

In Sakkaraj 1125 year in the 4th month (March), Maung Ra, a son of Minlaung, the younger brother of Maung Lawk, ascended the throne. I, Arparkarmani, who commanded the forces which had attacked Chiengmai, asked Maha Naratra with a force of 7,000 men to take Chow Chan and his family and present them to Maung Ra, while with a force of 3,000 men I stayed in Chiengmai to guard the city. Maung Ra was then publicly known by the name of the lord of the white elephant (Sinbyushin). He maintained Chow Chan and family in comfort.

In the 11th month (October) of the same year, Maung Ra ordered Yolat Wun to go down to Ava and reconstruct the city of Ava and refurbish the palaces there. Talaban wanted to harm the King of Ava. He had his servant who was named Nai T'we throw

lighted inflammable matter into the city of Môksobo. But the servant was apprehended in the act and an investigation proved that Talaban intended to harm the King of Ava. The King thereupon ordered the execution of Talaban.

In Sakkaraj 1126 year, in the 12th month (November), Maung Ra ordered Athè Wungyi and Taingza Bo to take command of 10,000 men as an advance force, while he himself, in command of the main army of 20,000 men, went to attack the city of Kathè. In the same year, in the waxing moon of the 2nd month (January), he captured the city of the Kathè. The Chief and his family were seized and taken to Môksobo, arriving there in the 3rd month (February).

In Sakkaraj 1127 year in the 6th month (May), the King came down from Môksobo and reigned in the city of Ava. He brought with him the Chief of Kathè and his family and maintained them in comfort. On the 5th of the waning moon of the 7th month (June) of the same year there was a great rain. Lightning struck the building that housed the drum for telling the hours of the day and night. It struck the pinnacle of the palace, which caught fire and made the top of the palace break and fall down. But the fire was put out and the storm and rain abated and finally stopped. The King of Ava asked the soothsayers, brahmans and learned men what all this meant, and they predicted that His Majesty would overcome his enemies and that his subjects throughout his kingdom would live happily. They asked him to wash the hair of his head, to free prisoners, and to release all animals which had been confined.

When Sakkaraj 1127 year arrived, in the 12th month (November) the King of Ava gave Chabbakong Bo and Yanknankyaw Bo command of 5,000 men as an advance force, and Myowun Nemyo Maha Senabadi command of 5,000 men as a supporting force and ordered them to march north to Chiengmai and to remain there during the rains. He ordered Mekhara Bo, in command of 5,000 men as an advance force, and Maha Naratra, in command of 10,000 men as a supporting force, to march to Tavoy and to wait there during the rains. At the end of Buddhist Lent, both forces, the northern and

the southern, were to attack Ayuthia, and when it was captured the forces were to return to Ava.

Beginning in late Sakkaraj 1128 year, the Haws (the Chinese of Yunnan) came as far as the town of Seng-wi (*Burmese*, Theinmi), which was about 15 days journey by road from the city of Ava. The King of Ava ordered Taingza Bo, in command of 5,000 men of an advance force, and Athè Wungyi, in command of 10,000 men of a supporting force, to attack the Haws. The Haws were defeated and retreated to the north.

In Sakkaraj 1129 year, the Haws again came back and they reached the locality of the village of Ban-Yong, which was only a night's journey from the city of Ava. The King ordered Athè Wungyi, Yolat Wun and Myin Wun, three men in command of many forces, to attack the Haws. After three days' attack, the Haws suffered a defeat and their commanders, Èsuhe, Kuntaryè, Mienkunye and Parasuyè—four of them—and 6,000 men and petty officers were captured. The King of Ava ordered that they should be held unharmed.

In Sakkaraj 1131 year, the Haws came back again the third time, in great force, under the command of Kwe Chwe Bo. They reached the town of Kongtung Bamoh, a distance of 15 days' journey by road. The King ordered Tainza Boh and Tariengrama, with a force of 5,000 men, to march ahead, and Athè Wungyi, in command of 10,000 men to march against the Haws by road. He ordered Ngazu Wun and Laytaw Wun (probably the minister in charge of the royal boat. *Trans.*) to take the command of 5,000 men as an advance river force, and Ammalock Wun, who was commander of cannons and in command of 10,000 men, to take the chief command of both land and river forces. They arrived at Kongtung Bamoh at the same time. The forces of both sides drew up and waited for the commanders to settle affairs peaceably. Kwe Chwe Boh, commander-in-chief of the Haws, sent a deputy to Athè Wungyi suggesting that the chief commanders of both sides meet and discuss terms of agreement. Athè Wungyi then ordered that a building be put up

between the contending forces. The commanders-in-chief of both sides went to the building at the same time. After some discussion they agreed that henceforth there should be no war at all and that they should be friendly and intimate with each other, and that the people of each country should be allowed to enter that of the other and to trade freely. After the agreement, Athè Wungyi and the several commanders then withdrew to Ava.

In Sakkaraj 1131 year, in the 10th of the waxing moon of the 7th month (June), lightning struck the post which held the gilt plank on which the name of the door of the city was inscribed. In the 8th month (July) of the same year, the governor of the town of Chantaburi presented his daughter to the King of Ava.

In Sakkaraj 1133 year, Chow Wong, the Chief of Luang Phrabang, came down and attacked the town of Chantaburi. Its governor informed the King of Ava, who then ordered Chikching Bo, in command of 2,000 men as an advance force, and Nemyo Maha Semabadi, that is, Bo Subala, with 3,000 men, as commander-in-chief of both forces, to attack the town of Luang Phrabang. Luang Phrabang was captured and Bo Subala, with his forces, went up to the town of Chantaburi, and stayed there during the rainy season.

In Sakkaraj 1134 year, when the rainy season was over, Bo Subala and his forces came down and attacked the town of Lab-lè and Pichai. Ayuthia sent up a force which attacked Bo Subala and his forces, and defeated them. Bo Subala retreated to Chiengmai, where he remained throughout the rainy season.

In Sakkaraj 1135 year, Amat Chantaraw, the Thugyi of Lebo, with a force of 3,000 Kathès, intended to revolt against the King of Ava, and he had the Kathè Yogi burn a corner of the city. The Yogi also set ablaze a rest house of the monastery of Swechikung, (probably Shwe Zigôn. *Trans.*). He also set fire to another building in the vicinity of the monastery. When arrested and questioned, Kathè Yogi deposed that Chantaraw, Amat Thugyi Lebo, had asked him to set fires in four places, to attack the city with his 3,000 men, to seize the King of Ava and murder him. An inquiry proved the truth of

this deposition, and the King ordered the execution of 3,000 Kathès together with their leaders.

At the end of Buddhist Lent, the King of Ava ordered Phya Chaban, with 1,000 Laos, to march as an advance force, with Nemyo Karmani, who was guarding the city of Chiengmai, and Bo Subala, in chief command with a force of 9,000 men, consisting of a mixture of Laos and Burmans, to go down and attack Ayuthia. These forces left Chiengmai and travelled the distance of a night's journey from Chiengmai—that is, about 500 wabs by road. Bo Subala became aware that Phya Chaban was thinking of deserting to the Siamese forces and fighting against him. He therefore returned to Chiengmai. When the Siamese forces from Ayuthia came up, the forces under Kawila, the governor of Nakon Lampang (*Siamese*, Phya Lakon), and Phya Chaban went over to Siamese forces and surrounded Chiengmai. Bo Subala and Nemyo Karmani could not stand against the combined attack and they left Chiengmai and withdrew to Monè (*Siamese*, Maung Nai). The King ordered the wife of Bo Subala, who was at Ava, to be imprisoned. She was able to send a messenger to Bo Subala, warning him not to return to Ava. Bo Subala left Monè and fled to Shwegyin, which was near Toungoo.

In Sakkaraj 1135 year, the King sent a letter to Pagan Wun, the governor of Mòktama, ordering him to levy a force of 10,000 Mons, assume command of it and attack Ayuthia. The Pagan Wun then called upon Phya Chaeng, Talasaeng, and Phya Oo with a force of 3,000 men to go in advance. Phé Kicha was made commander-in-chief of this force, which proceeded to build granaries at Asmi and Parsak and fill them with provisions. When the Buddhist Lent ended, the Pagan Wun expected to follow them with a force of 7,000 men.

It was planned that, in Sakkaraj 1136 year, an army from Ava should come down and attacked Ayuthia. But Pagan Wun seized the personal ornaments, those of silver and gold, from the wives of his petty commanders. This greatly distressed those Mons who had been ordered to build the granaries, as well those others who had been left behind. Talasaeng thereupon wrote to

Phya Chaeng, telling him that all the Smings and the Mons had reported that Pagan Wun was oppressing them intolerably. Talasaeng also suggested that Phya Chaeng himself and the Mons should come back hastily to Môktama. Phya Chaeng, Talasaeng, together with other Smings and Mons, seized Phè Kicha, the commander-in-chief, and murdered him. All the Mon forces then marched toward Môktama. The Pagan Wun, the governor of Môktama, and the Akun Wun became aware that Phya Chaeng and Talasaeng had murdered Phè Kicha and that the forces were returning to Môktama. The Pagan Wun and the Akun Wun then ran away in a boat to Rangoon. Phya Chaeng and Talasaeng and other commanders of the Mon forces pursued the fugitives and attacked a fort at Takkale (*Burmese*, Taikkala) on the outskirts of Rangoon. The advance force under the command of Athè Wungyi came down from Ava and fought with the Mon forces at Rangoon. Phya Chaeng and Talasaeng and other Mon commanders were worsted in the fight and retreated to Môktama. They collected their families and prepared to go and live in Ayuthia. But the Burmese forces pursued them. They captured Talasaeng and his family in the district of Môktama and sent them to the King of Ava. During this period the King and his ministers were putting up a Hti (on the Shwe Dagón pagoda. *Trans.*) at Rangoon. The King asked Talasaeng who were his accomplices in the revolt. Talasaeng deposed that the governor of Hongkawadi and his younger brother, the Uparajā, sent a letter to him and to Phya Chaeng by the hand of a messenger, urging that the Smings and the Mons seize all the Burmans living in Môktama and murder them, attack Rangoon, and then march up to Ava. Upon being questioned, the governor of Hongkawadi and the Uparajā admitted their guilt. The King then ordered the execution of the governor of Hongkawadi, the Uparajā, and Phya Talasaeng.

In Sakkaraj 1136 year, Athè Wungyi marched down to attack Ayuthia. An advance force of 3,000 Burmese, driving southward, reached the town of Rajburi, nearby which a Siamese force surrounded them. Athè Wungyi sent word of this to the

King, who ordered Akun Wung Maung Yo, with a force of 3,000 men to go to the aid of the Burmans where they were surrounded by the Siamese forces on the hill of Nang Keo near Rajburi. But the assisting force suffered many casualties in dead and wounded. Athè Wungyi reported this to the King of Ava. But the King replied that to free the 3,000 men it would be necessary to expend over 10,000 men. Because it was near the rainy season and the forces were suffering much for want of provisions, Athè Wungyi asked the King for permission to retreat with his main force to Môktama. He said that next year he would march and attack Ayuthia, and that he would rescue and present to His Majesty the 3,000 men, together with their commanders, who were now surrounded by the Siamese. The King replied that he approved the Athè Wungyi's report because it was in accordance with the usual government work. He said that he would leave it to Athè Wungyi's discretion to make certain of the capture of Ayuthia.

In Sakkaraj 1137 year, the King returned to Ava. In the same year on the 11th month (October), Athè Wungyi ordered Min Yarnghè and the petty officers, Pannyi Yegaung Kyaw and Panyi Tachong, with a force of 20,000 men to march by way of Raheng. He himself, as commander-in-chief of a force of 15,000 men, invested the town of Pitsanuloke. Athè Wungyi divided his forces and met the Siamese forces sent from Ayuthia at the mouth of the river Me Ping. When Pitsanuloke fell to the Burmese forces, Athè Wungyi sent a report to His Majesty of Ava. Before this message could reach him the King died. He was succeeded by his son Sin-gu-za (*Siamese*, Chin-ku-cha. *Trans*). The new King sent a government officer with orders to abandon the attack on Ayuthia as well as the attack of the forces at Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim. Athè Wungyi, who had attacked Ayuthia, went back to Ava. Sin-gu-za then performed the funeral rites of his father according to custom.

In Sakkaraj 1138 year, Sin-gu-za ascended the throne of his father. Salinza (*Siamese*, Chalencha), younger brother of Sin-gu-za, had been appointed governor of the town of Salin while his father

was alive. In company with the Atwinwun, a minister of the court, he conspired to seize the throne of his brother. Upon learning of this conspiracy Sin-gu-za ordered the execution of Salinza and the Atwinwun. He then supported the Buddhist religion by repairing Buddha images, pagodas and monasteries which were in a dilapidated condition, applying black paint (*Burmese* "thitsi" and *Siamese* "rak." *Trans.*) to them and gilding them with gold leaf.

In Sakkaraj 1142 year, the King, Sin-gu-za, removed Athè Wungyi from government service. He ordered the execution of Amyin Thakin, a son of Minlaung, and the younger brother of his father. But Amyin Thakin was saved by Padôn, who removed him to Sagaing. Padôn also saved Pakhan Thakin and established him at Pin-ya, and Pindate Thakin whom he placed in the village of Chikki. These three persons were the sons of Minlaung and younger brothers of Maung Ra.

In Sakkaraj 1143 year, the pagoda at the town of Pan-ya, which was only 300 wahs by road from the city of Ava, and which was called Shwe Zigôn, was destroyed. The Buddha image at Sagaing, which was on the opposite bank of the city of Ava, shed tears. Sin-gu-za arranged to have offerings made to Buddha and he set out to worship the Buddha image at the place called Siha, which by road was a five day's journey from the city of Ava. When he had travelled by boat for three nights, Maung Maung, son of Maung Lawk, together with many of his friends and accomplices, seized the throne and declared himself king. Maung Maung sought out his uncles, Padôn Thakin, Pakhan Thakin and Pindate Thakin and these three came together to the city of Ava. Maung Maung offered the throne to these uncles, but Padôn, Pakhan, and Pindate all refused it, saying that it had been obtained by Maung Maung's merit and that he should keep it. Athè Wungyi was then reinstated in his former position. But the accomplices of Maung Maung, whom he had appointed as his ministers, maltreated the people, seizing their property, their silver, gold and their unmarried daughters who were without fault and innocent of any crime. The people in general were greatly oppressed and they hated Maung Maung.

Observing this, Padôn sought out his relatives and the old officials, and told them that although Maung Maung had been ruling for only five or six days he had already brought great distress to the people. Padôn stated that Maung Maung was unfit to rule. The old ministers and the populace were of the same opinion as Padôn. They surrounded the palace, and fought Maung Maung's forces from early morning until noon of that day. They suffered many casualties, but at last captured Maung Maung and executed him. Padôn then ascended the throne. He ordered that the bodies of those who died in the encounter be loaded in carts and thrown outside the city.

In that year, King Padôn ordered Amat Maha Silawa and Chawk Talung Bo, with 50 war boats and about 1,000 men, to seek out Sin-gu-za and arrest him. When this force arrived at the village Sanpho, a distance of six nights' journey from Ava, it found that Sin-gu-za and the remainder of his friends, totalling about 30 men, and his wife and concubines had run away and were staying there. Sin-gu-za surrendered to Amat Maha Silawa, assuring himself that because his uncle Padôn had ascended the throne he would not be killed. But Amat Silawa put Sin-gu-za and his family in confinement and presented them to King Padôn. The King thereupon ordered that Sin-gu-za and all his family be executed.

In Sakkaraj 1144 year, at about 9 p.m. on a night of the 7th month (June), a Burman by the name of Nga Pôn, who was a vagrant in the city of Ava, with about 300 of his friends, entered the palace with the intention of seizing the throne. Padôn and his partisans fought against Nga Pôn and his men. Many casualties were suffered on both sides before Padôn captured Nga Pôn and his accomplices, whom he had put to death. In that year during the 12th month (November), Padôn ordered that a new city be built at a place called Phongkar to the east of the city of Ava and at a distance of 300 sents from it by road.

In Sakkaraj 1145 year, in the 7th month (June), Padôn transferred his capital to the city of Amarapura, which had been

built anew. In the 12th month (November) of that year, Padôn placed the Ekkaban Wun and other ministers in command of 4,000 men as an advance force and appointed Sagu Thakin, his son, with a force of 10,000 men as commander-in-chief, and ordered them to march against Arakan by way of the town Santwè (Thandwè), in the Arakan district. He placed Minkhun (Mingun) Wun and other ministers in command of 4,000 men as an advance force and appointed his son, Karma Thakin with a force of 10,000 men, as commander-in-chief and, ordered them to march against Arakan by way of the town of Mar-i-la-mu in the Arakan district. He placed Siri Tarieng, Yegaung Teza and Chek Rechaw Boh, in command of 4,000 men as an advance force, and appointed his elder son, with a force of 16,000 men, as commander-in-chief, and ordered them to attack the city of Dinnyawadi, that is, Arakan, by way of Tong Kôk (Taunggap). When his elder son and his forces reached Arakan he ordered Maha Kyawdin, Talayar Yè, Chaw-arkar Yè, Chawtamut Yè and Khong-Decha, in command of 5,000 men in 500 war boats, to proceed by water to Arakan. After reaching Tong Kôk in the 1st month (December), they attacked and entered the town of Tanloi. Chawti, the governor of Tanloi, left the town and fled across the water. The Burmese land and water forces embarked in boats and pursued the fugitive during the 2nd month (January). The forces converged from three directions and arrived at the same time at the town of Lemichung, distant from the town of Arakan only by about 100 wahs. The governor (or the king. *Trans.*) came out with his forces and ministers and offered resistance, but were defeated. They withdrew into the city, followed closely by the Burmese forces. The King of Arakan fled from the city, but the Burmese forces pursued and captured him. On the 13th waxing moon of the 3rd month (February), the King of Dinnyawadi of the country of Yakaing, all his family, with their personal ornaments, his decorations, and his ministers were brought to the capital of Burma. Chaw Su with a force of 10,000 was left to keep the peace of Dinnyawadi, and all the forces and their commanders returned to Amarapura in the 5th month (April). Padôn ordered

that the King of Dinnyawadi his family and his ministers be maintained in Amarapura. But the King of Dinnyawadi became ill and died. His ministers and common people, amounting to 50,000, were given paddy lands and means of living by Padôn.

In Sakkaraj 1147 year, it was reported that Pindate, the youngest brother of King Padôn of Amarapura, was planning to revolt. After an inquiry proved that the report was true, the King ordered the execution of Pindate and his accomplices, numbering about 50 persons.

In the 9th month (August) of that year, the King ordered Natmileng, Paleng Bo, Petongza, Nachakki Bo, Tongphiyung Bo, and Nemyo Khung-narat, with 2,500 men as an advance land force, and Satinglangkhieng, Barwarchieng, Eng-ying-teza, Udin-Yaw, with Yiwun as commander-in-chief of a 3,000-man boat force, to proceed and attack the town of Talang (in Siamese territory). The King ordered the Kengwun, with a force of 4,500 men, to march against the towns of Nakhon. (Nakhon Sitamarat in southern Siam. *Trans.*) Choomphon, and Chaiya. The King ordered the Chikkò (Sitkò) of Tavoy, Manichawkhong, Sihayèchwawteng, Peya Bo and Tavoy Wun, with a force of 3,000 men, to march against Tavoy as an advance force. He ordered Tareng-yarmsu, Manisinta, Surinchawkhong, and Chilsin Boh, with a force 3,000 men to march as a supporting force. He ordered Anawkhaphat Tikwun (Anauk-phet-taikwun), with a force of 4,000 men, to march against the town of Rajburi. He ordered the Kalarwun, Pitông-ying, Sulechi, Pan-ya-U, Arkarchawteng (Argark-yawdin), Lansan Boh, Akhong-wun (Akhunwun), Pay-yi-tasong, Lamo-wun, and Swe-khong-arkar, with a force 10,000 men, to march against Môktama, and he gave instructions that the Myowun would administer the town with the help of all his officers. This was an advance force, and it was regarded as the number one force. Ywoi-lak-ya-yè-khong (Yweletyar-yègaung) Chawkar Boh, Tareng-pan-yi, and Tuk-yè-Boh led a supporting force of 5,000 men with Myien-may-wun as their chief. This was force number two. Another supporting force, of 10,000 men was led by the officers Yuan-chu-wun (Ywun-zu-wun), Chitkong Siriya, Kengwun (Kinwun),

Yelewun (Ye-hle-wun), with Karma Thakin, the younger son of the King of Amarapura, as commander-in-chief. This was force number three. There was another force of 10,000 men, led by Mekkhara Boh, Atitaw-arkarpan-yi, Mayolat-wun, with Sagu Thakin, the middle son of the King of Amarapura, as commander-in-chief. This was force number four. The army of the King was a forward force of 5,000 men, commanded by Charwar Boh, Yakhaing Bo, Pakan-wun, Lawkar-sung-tong-wun, May-chun-wun, with Asè-wang-mu (Athè-win-hmu) as the chief commander. On the right of the King's forces, 5,000 men led by the officers Ammalaw-k-wun, Tuanseng-wun, Lay-chawphwa (Le-sawbwa), Yatchawk Boh, Ngar-chu-wun (Bga-zu-wun), together with another force of 5,000 men led by Ma-yawk-win-mu (Myauk-wun-hmu), who was also the chief commander of the entire force. On the left wing of the King, Lèka-roya-kimu (The *Siamese*, "kimu" is evidently the *Burmese* "kin-hmu." *Trans.*), Leseng-wun, Yuan-chu-wun (*Burmese*, Yunzu), Yakiwun (*Burmese*, Kyi-wun), and Thibaw Sawbwa (*Siamese*, Sibaw-chow-phwar) led a force of 5,000 men, with Tong-weng-hmu (*Burmese*, Taung-win-hmu) as the chief commander. Another force of 5,000 men was led by Ra-warlat-wun, Awkmar-wun, Mogaung-sawbwa, Mokeik-Sawbwa, Mohnyin-Sawbwa, with Anauk-win-hmu as the chief commander. The forces of Padôn, the King of Amarapura, consisting of 20,000 men under the command of Inse Thakin, an elder son of the King, and the minister Inse-wun (*Siamese*, Amat), were to remain in the capital, to transact affairs of the country and to guard the city. In the direction of Raheng a force of 3,000 men, was led by Swe-tong-nawrata and Swe-tong-siri-Sawbwa (*Siamese* "Swe-tong," I think, is "Shwe-daung" in *Burmese*. *Trans.*), with Swe-tong-way-ra-chaw-teng (Shwe-daung-way-ra-kyawdin) as the chief commander. A force of 2,000 men was sent as a supporting force under the command of Kyaw-gaung-nawrata. Towards Chiengmai, the King sent a force of more than 20,000 men, with Thado Mahasiri Uzana as commander-in-chief.

On arriving at Cheingsen, Thado Mahasiri Uzana ordered Pan-yi-tachong Boh, Chwelan-tong Boh, Yégaw-Nawrata, Palan Boh,

Natsu-malan Boh, Mòk-u Boh, Sara-kyawzu to take the command of 5,000 men, and, with Memyo Thihathuya as the chief commander, to go down and attack the town of Pitsanuloke. After taking Pitsanuloke, they were to establish themselves at the mouth of the river Me Ping. Mwe-yong, Chieng-kalay, Phya Chaiya, and Noi Anta, leading 3,000 men, with me, Arparakarmani, in chief command, were ordered to proceed towards Chèhom. A force of 15,000 men under Chèkè Bo, Phya Prè, Akhunwun, Utingchèkka Bo, Nemyo Yantameik, with Thado Mahasiri Uzana in chief command, was ordered to proceed and surround the town of Lakon (*i.e.*, Nakon Lampang in the north. *Trans*). When the Siamese forces from Ayuthia went up to help defend the town of Lakon, they met the Burmese forces at the mouth of the river Me Ping. A fight ensued and the Burmese were defeated and put to flight. They dispersed in every direction and suffered many casualties in dead and wounded. The Siamese seized many ponies and captured many prisoners of war. Remnants of the force which was defeated at the mouth of Me Ping eventually found their way up to the town of Lakon, where they warned me, Arparakarmani, and Thado Mahasiri Uzana, who was commander-in-chief of the Burmese force in the town of Lakon, that the Siamese forces from Ayuthia were pursuing them hotly and were in fact, about to fall upon Lakon. Thado Mahasiri Uzana and I went out to meet the Siamese and fought with them from morning until noon, but we were defeated. Shortly afterwards we received an order, in the form of a letter from a government officer, for our forces to retire to Ava, with special instructions to Thado Mahasiri Uzana to hasten the retreat of his forces before the rains commenced and to reach Ava at a fixed time. But I was to remain at Chiengsen as its governor with a force of 3,000 Burmans.

In Sakaraj 1148 year, the King ordered Pan-yi-wesaw, and Shwedaung Yeya-kyawdin with a force of 2,000 men, and Kyawgaung Nawrata with a force of 1,500 men as commander-in-chief to go up to assist me in guarding the town of Chiengsen. Kyawgaung Nawrata was ordered to unite the forces and take the chief command. But

only 500 men came in to be united; 2,500 men had deserted and run away. The remaining forces, however, were, sufficiently large to enable us to attack the town of Muang Fang, which fell to us. The commander-in-chief, Nawrata, with most of the force, stayed there during the rains, cultivating the fields. But he ordered me, with 50 men, to return to Chiengsen and attend to the affairs of the town. I had spent a year with 10,000 men, cultivating the paddy fields at Cheingsen, when Phya (governor) Prè, and Phya Yong marched a Siamese force against us. I slipped out of the town and surrendered to Phya Chiengrai, who sent me to the Siamese forces at Lakon. The governor of Lakon sent me on to Ayuthia where I have been maintained until now. I knew that an advance Burmese force led by Chanloon, the son of an old officer in Hongsawadi, and Amat Tin, the son of Chaw-ka-took Wun, with Lamaeng-wun (probably Lamaing Wun in *Burmese. Trans.*), as commander-in-chief were marching Mon forces against Ayuthia by way of Môktana. I knew also that they were collecting provisions at the ferry crossing of Dindeng. Siamese forces sent up from Ayuthia attacked these forces, which were defeated and put to flight, suffering many casualties in dead and wounded.

I remember only so much. But I recall that, before Minlaung became king, a king by the name of Chow Artit (in *Siamese*, "of the solar race") reigned for twenty years. He had a son who succeeded him and reigned for fifteen years. This son appointed Sar-awng (*Siamese*, Tha Aung) to govern Hongsawadi. When Sar-awng was in office for three months, Seng-Mu revolted and captured Sar-awng and murdered him. Seng-mu was governor for seven years when Minlaung captured Hongsawadi. Minlaung, who reigned at Môksobo, had an elder brother and a younger brother before he became king, but the elder brother died. The younger brother is still living with the title of Thado Uzana. When Minlaung died, Maung Lawk (Naungdawgyi) succeeded him. Maung Lawk had reigned for three years when he died. He had a son by the name of Maung Maung, but Maung Ra (Sin-byu-shin) obtained the throne. He had two

sons, one by the name of Sin-gu-za and the other by the name of Salinza, and two daughters. He reigned for thirteen years until he became ill of venereal disease and died. Sin-gu-za obtained the throne and reigned for five years. Before he died Maung Maung held the throne for only six days and a half before he was captured and executed. Padôn obtained the throne and proceeded to execute Sin-gu-za and Pindate Thakin, his youngest brother. Minlaung had three other sons besides those who received his throne and three daughters, in all nine children.

I pray for His Siamese Majesty's glory.

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